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The Politics of the Traditional Korean Popular Song Style *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

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The Politics of the Traditional Korean Popular Song Style *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

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Dedication

To my husband

Yn Bok Lee

with gratitude and love

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The Politics of the Traditional Korean Popular Song Style *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

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T'ŭrot'ŭ, a traditional Korean popular song style, has existed in the South Korean music scene for more than eight decades. Nowadays, the song style may not be the most popular song style in South Korea in terms of media popularity, which is mostly oriented towards teenaged listeners. However, *t'ŭrotŭ* functioned as a creative local interpretation of imported foreign musical idioms.

T'ŭrot'ŭ was formulated in the 1920s during the Japanese colony, standardized and matured in the 1960s, localized in the 1980s, and traditionalized since then. Due to initial contact with the Japanese colony during the formative period, the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* initiated a number of debates regarding its identity, particularly its nationality during the Cold War years. As social values and the cultural spectrum transformed, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became reinterpreted as a traditional Korean popular song style, differentiated from the other recently imported Western-style popular songs—e.g. rock, ballad and disco songs. In the meantime, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* itself had been changing throughout its history, sanitizing its alleged Japanese characteristics.

In South Korean popular discourse, the concept of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is multi-layered: there are multiple terms for the particular song style; there are multiple meanings of the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* itself; there are even multiple pronunciations of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* all aligning with different generations. Different age groups remember and practice the song style differently, reflecting on their historical experiences against circumstantial politics. Thus, the history and the practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been deeply integrated with the socio-political and historical dynamics of South Korean society.

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[1] MC refers to micro cassette, which is a regular cassette tape.

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Introduction

T'ŭrot'ŭ in Politics, T'ŭrot'ŭ as a Song Style

T'ŭrot'ŭ is generally known as a South Korean sentimental love song performed with lots of vocal inflections. However, its meaning has been changing throughout modern history in relation to ideological fabrications of South Korea such as intellectual nationalism of the Japanese colonial period (1910-45), colonial imperialism of the Cold war period (1950s-80s), and strategic essentialism of the military dictatorship (1960s-80s). For instance, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was considered, particularly by elites, as a cultural vestige of the Japanese colony that must be discarded, while it remains as a traditional Korean song in popular discourse. In addition, the practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has transformed in the process of negotiation with socio-political and economic forces such as military government censorship (1960s-early 80s), cassette technique (1980s), and globalization (1980s-present).

Therefore, *t'ŭrot'u*, as a style, should be understood as a musical, metaphorical, and physical wholeness of negotiating South Korean identity of the modern periods. As pointed out by Steven Feld, "style constitutes the universe of discourse within which musical meanings arise (Meyer 1967:7; Feld 1988:75)." Style is not just a patterned sound but also a patterned culture by which certain group of people construct their identity. In this sense, the style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* consists of

not only its musical element, but also popular discourse, bodily performance, knowledge, and emotion.

A study of the South Korean song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* will thus explore three quintessential questions: first, how has *t'ŭrot'ŭ* been produced and consumed in the South Korea socio-political and historical contexts of modern periods such as the Japanese colony, paternal governmental policies, postcolonial international relationships and globalization?; second, how has *t'ŭrot'ŭ* been manipulated in relation to the fabrication of ideologies such as imperialism and nationlism?; last but not least, how have contemporary local identities in South Korea been constructed and practiced through localizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*?

Terminology

Terminology of the song style is complicated in the academic writings, as well as in popular discourse. Even the current Korean term, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, was not coined until the 1980s, when the song style had already existed for more than six decades. For this reason, different agents, particularly different age groups, remember the song style with different names. Even though I adopt the most popular term—*t'ŭrot'ŭ*—in reference to the song style, it is quite worthwhile to examine past terminology in order to understand the socio-political and historical dynamics involved in the song style.

For instance, a retired old man spending his pastime in the park remembered

the song style with a different term, *yuhaengga* (music in fashion), mainly because it was the name of the song style in the 1940s and 50s, when he experienced it the most. However, the term *yuhaengga* became generalized in the end to indicate all kinds of Korean popular songs. Another example may be a middle-aged taxi driver who used another term, *ppongtchak,* (imitating sound of duple rhythm) for this song style. *Ppongtchak,* an onomatopoeic word reflecting duple meter, has been widely used since the 1950s (Hwang 2001:814). However, since *ppongtchak* was considered as a derogatory name ridiculing the song style, a number of popular musicians and music critics suggested that it should be renamed with more noble terms, such as *sŏjŏng kayo* (lyrical popular song) and *chŏnt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song). The former emphasizes the song style's sentimental element, while the latter highlights its traditionalism. As a result, the term *chŏnt'ong kayo* recently became popular to the extent that it could affect the images of the song style and its singers. *T'ŭrot'ŭ*, as a traditional Korean song style, is expected to reproduce traditional Korean morals either musically or symbolically.

Meanwhile, in contemporary public discourses, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is coined as the current name for the song style. For instance, the host[1] of *yŏllin ŭmak-hoe* (open concert), which is one of the most popular and privileged television shows aired through the national broadcasting station KBS (Korean Broadcasting System),

[1] Typically, the show has been hosted by female announcers, who supposedly use standard Korean.

introduces the singers of this song style with the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Hwang O-Kon also defines the song style as *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which is supposedly derived from fox-trot (2001).[2] Driven by their own socio-political and historical experiences, different agents, particularly different age groups, remember the song style with several different names, such as *yuhaengga*, *ppongtchak*, *sŏjŏng kayo*, *chŏnt'ong kayo*, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

What is T'ŭrot'ŭ?

In this complicated picture, there are also contradictory definitions of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* that must be considered. According to Sul Woon-Do (Sŏl Un-Do), one of the most popular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is mostly distinguishable from other song styles by its vocal inflections (personal conversation:2003). During the interview, the singer demonstrated the particular vocal techniques with which he could transform any kind of popular song into *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.[3] Additionally, Sul Woon-Do asserted that the melody, as the crucial musical element of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, should express traditional Korean esthetics like *han* (lamentation) and *hŭng* (ecstasy).

Choi Dong-Kwon (Ch'oe Tong-Kwŏn), a sound engineer who had produced this song style for more than thirty years, asserted that the sharp duple meter should be the crucial criteria for making authentic *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (personal

[2] There are no academic studies regarding the origin of the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. However, mostly it has been said that it was associated with the two-beat rhythmic pattern of fox-trot.
[3] Popular music critic Song Ki-Ch'ŏl asserted that most of the South Korean popular songs contained characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to some extent (Sindonga 2000:572-4).

conversation:2003). According to Choi, the drummer should play the steep second beat with a snare drum like whipping a horse or cutting wood. One episode mentioned by Choi was that an apprentice was fired simply because he used an echo effect on the second beat. Choi went on to say that the sheer duple rhythm came from the rhythmic rendition of the traditional Korean hourglass-like drum, *changgo*. Linked to traditional aesthetics and music, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is considered as an authentic Korean popular song style by music-makers like Sul Woon-Do and Choi Dong-Kwon.

Gaps between Academic Definitions and Popular discourse of t'ŭrot'ŭ

However, there have been different viewpoints regarding *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, particularly its identity, throughout history. To begin with, the conceptual gap of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was revealed in my personal experience during the fieldwork. The first motive for me, as a pure listener, to study the particular song style was simply that it was the popular music tradition with the longest history in South Korea. The formulation of the song style and the emergence of Korean popular music occurred around the same time in the 1920s. Subsequently, the song style was expected to represent the modern South Korean musical culture, in which the socio-political dynamics of the modern period are reflected. Second, since the particular song style still occupies the main repertories of the South Korean adult musical practices like *noraebang* (an entertainment room for karaoke), it was undoubtedly conceived as

the Korean popular music practice. Last but not least, the recent term *chŏnt'ong kayo*, defining *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as the traditional Korean popular song style, helped me presuppose the authenticity of the musical production. Thus, underlying my initial assumptions of the song style, there was the belief that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was the representative Korean popular song style.

However, I found that the academic circles had dealt with the song style from different perspectives. First of all, Hwang O-Kon defines it as:

> Using the pentatonic scales and duple metre characteristic of *enka*, these Korean popular songs came accidentally to be known as *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, a word derived from 'fox-trot'…
>
> Most star singers (such as Kim Chŏnggu, Hyŏn In and Paek Sŏrhŭi) continued to sing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, which by this time [the 1950s] were also called *ppongtchak* (an onomatopoeic word reflecting the duple metre)…
>
> The 1980s were marked by diverse trends: the revival of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (led by Chu Hyŏnmi[4]), which confirmed the strong undercurrent of Japanese legacy in Korean musical aesthetics…(Hwang 2001:814-15).

Hwang emphasizes that the Korean song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is the *de facto* musical vestige of the Japanese colony, because it contained the duple meter and pentatonic scales of the Japanese popular song style *enka*. This perspective is also found in another article written by ethnomusicologist Keith Howard:

> Early recordings of the sentimental popular songs known as *yuhaengga* (descendants of Japanese *enka* ballads) were made by Japanese companies in the 1920s, but following the defeat of Japan at the end of the Pacific War in 1945, Japanese record

[4] In the dissertation, I instead use Choo Hyun-Mi, following her romanization on the albums.

> companies were effectively replaced by Korean companies that were destined to remain small for more than four decades (2002:80-1).

Howard took the concept of the song style *yuhaengga* from two indigenous scholars, Kim Ch'ang-Nam and Lee Yŏng-Mi, who promulgated the cultural imperialist viewpoint in the late 1980s. Supporting the song movement (*norae undong*) of young intellectuals in the 1980s, Kim and Lee criticized *t'ŭrot'ŭ* for retaining the colonial expression driven by the asymmetrical power relations between Korea and Japan during the occupation. In fact, the cultural imperialism of the elites traces back to the early twentieth century, as pointed out by historian Michael Robinson:

> It is clear in the press that radio programmers and cultural elites were worried that popular song would divert from their project to canonize and preserve traditional Korean music as part of a modern Korean high culture… As with language, elites' conception of cultural construction within the modern sphere "resisted" by attempting to emulate cultural norms in the metropole through the establishment and deepening of a Korean high, modern culture co-equal to that of their colonial masters. In this sense, the debates in the 1930s in Korea over culture anticipated postcolonial debates over the same issue in South Korea, with modern Western rock representing the new enemy to a "true" Korean music culture (1998:372).

Given its impact and the colonial political climate in the early twentieth century, it is not surprising that popular music became a cultural threat for the Korean nationalists to be worried about. The early elites' nationalists opposed the popular music by advocating the resurrection of traditional Korean music, even

though many of the early Korean popular songs gained popularity due to their nationalist lyrics. Meanwhile, a tourist guidebook, titled *world music: the rough guide* (1994), suggests another description of the song style:

> ..Central to postwar Korean cultural thinking has been a statement of identity, to counter the 36 years of Japanese occupation until 1945. During those years Korean language, history and culture were severely attacked and the popular music legacy was *torotto*, the sentimental Korean equivalent of Japanese enka…
>
> Lee Mi-Ja has been rarely been out of the Korean charts since 1960s, when she released a song called "Tombaek" (Winter Oak Maiden). She is so highly regarded as the archetypal voice of the Korean spirit that when the influential *Korea Daily* published a special feature on New Year's Day 1985, entitled "The hundred people who have shaped the Republic of Korea", she was the sole representative of the entertainment world. What she performs is a music that Koreans call *ponchak rock*, a Korean combination of sentimental song and danceable beat (1994:470-1).

Music columnists Hideo Kawakami and Paul Fisher describe the South Korean popular music landscape in the 1990s, as seen above. Obviously the authors followed the Japanese pronunciation of the Korean terms like *torotto*, Tombaek, and *ponchak*, instead of the native practices of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, Tongbaek, and *ppongtchak*. In addition, the authors also seem to take the concept of Korean popular music from a small number of young intellectuals, regardless of the discrepancy between intellectuals and the popular discourse of the listeners. Besides dealing with *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, *torotto* in this article, as the musical legacy of the Japanese colony, they coined a fancy term, *ponchak rock*, which was never popularly used among South Koreans to define the music of the queen of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

Lee Mi-Ja.[5]

Thus, since the initial studies of the nationalist intellectuals in the 1980s, there has been a substantial conceptual gap between the academic circles and the popular discourse of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.* In other words, the knowledge of the song style in the academic circle has been politically and historically positioned. With this regard, Michel Foucault analyzed how knowledge and truth are socially constructed, as in the following:

> It seems to me that what must now be taken into account in the intellectual is not the 'bearer of universal values'. Rather, it's the person occupying a specific position—but whose specificity is linked, in a society like ours, to the general functioning of an apparatus of truth. In other words, the intellectual has a three-fold specificity: that of his class position (whether as petty-bourgeois in the service of capitalism or 'organic' intellectual of the proletariat); that of his conditions of life and work, linked to his condition as an intellectual (his field of research, his place in a laboratory, the political and economic demands to which he submits or against which he revels, in the university, the hospital, etc.); lastly, the specificity of the politics of truth in our societies (1980:132).

Since the intellectuals are positioned in a specific context, the knowledge mostly produced by them should not be of universal value, but a humanly, socially, politically and historically positioned statement. Returning to the point, the academic concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* considering it as the cultural vestige of Japanese colony has been constructed by elites who were positioned in a particular political and historical context.

[5] Song Ki-Ch'ŏl criticized that the remarks of those authors were ridiculous and laughable, even though they partially described the South Korean popular music scene correctly (Sindonga 2000:571).

Aims and Purposes

The research, first of all, aims to dissect the politically and historically positioned knowledge regarding *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, and combine it with the contemporary popular discourse of the song style. In doing so, it is necessary to give voices to many different agents involved in the cultural production like producers, critics, musicians, listeners, and so forth, because different individuals experience the song style differently, interacting with the circumstantial dynamics, such as politics, economy, and history. As recently reemphasized by ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice, the self-reflexive project of self-identity in modernity, as a social process, led the study of music toward the subject-centered ethnography (2003:158). According to Rice, the self, particularly in modern society, is a thoroughly social and self-reflexive being, and experience is also social because it begins with interaction with a world and with others (ibid.). In the case of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, as mentioned, a nationalist elite of the 1980s and a working-class listener of today may have a different experience, reflecting on their viewpoints of the world. However, most studies of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* have valued the nationalist elites' viewpoints, regardless of their differences from that of the listeners'. Compromising the power relations, the research incorporates the existent academic studies and the popular discourse of the participants (e.g. musicians, listeners, and producers). In the end, the study of the different experiences of different groups of people contributes to the holistic understanding of the musical culture.

The second purpose of this study is to examine South Korean socio-political and historical dynamics as they were engaged in popular music culture. Since its formulation in the 1920s, the song style has been maneuvered differently throughout history. In the early years, it was mistreated by the elites, simply because it was a modern popular culture, even though it was widely attracted to the Korean listeners. Under the military dictatorship in the 1960s and 70s, it was a stigmatized song style to be eradicated, because of its alleged Japanese characteristics. The military dictatorship utilized the postcolonial sentiment against Japan to legitimize their authority in the name of national security. Then recently, the song style was revived in public discourses as the traditional Korean popular music. The symbolic meanings of the song style, thus, have been changing, and the present work, in this regard, sets out to interrogate the socio-political and historical dynamics in which the musical meanings were forged.

Third, I intend to deal with musical production as an invented cultural practice, with which people, either individually or collectively, are articulating their identities, values, and traditions. As pointed out by ethnomusicologists Line Grenier and Jocelyn Guilbault, popular music can be looked at reflectively in a local context as well as a broader context, instead of considering it by and for itself, since it, as culture, is a process of becoming and changing of a particular person and/or a particular group of persons in a dynamic situation (1990:390-91). In other words, popular music is the on-going process by which people's struggle

for power and values takes place. I, in this respect, seek a synthetic analysis incorporating both historical and ethnographic interpretations of the practice. As for the historical analysis, the research examines how the song style was formulated, developed and reinvented on the macro-level, interacting with contextual forces throughout its history from the late nineteenth century to the present. Meanwhile, the research also analyzes the performance practices of the song style in local places, either mediated sounds of cassettes or live performances, on the micro-level.

Therefore, the dissertation is ultimately directed toward a polyphonic writing composed of different voices. The asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and the informants should be compromised, in order not to produce a researcher's ominous statement of selected facts, as seen in other works in the academia. For this purpose, I approach the topic as a participant observer who is compassionately engaged in the musical culture and, at the same time, reconstitutes the social truth provided by the participants.

The activities as a participant observer included not only interviewing informants and observing various phenomena, but also participating in fan clubs and Internet chat boards of both singers' homepages and Internet broadcasting stations, taking several singing classes of both traditional Korean folksong and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, accompanying singers and producers to their recording studios and local events, babysitting a singer's daughter during the singer's performance, singing in

a chorus on a local stage, and teaching Internet skills to professional singers. Fully immersed in the music production of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, I intended to focus on "personal world of the understanding, experience, knowing, and doing of fieldwork (Barz 1997:205)," instead of representing a musical culture.

In sum, firstly, the research focuses on the multi-layered social truth of the song style, considering the conceptual gap between the nationalist elites' definitions and popular discourse. Second, dealing with the particular song tradition as a social phenomenon, this work aims to be an interdisciplinary study of the political dynamics related to the South Korean song tradition *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Third, I consider the musical tradition as an on-going cultural production, by which participants articulate their ethno-aesthetics, social values, and their own identities.

Research Methods

The research is an integration of archival historical studies, ethnographic fieldwork, and musical analyses. The archival studies were conducted in *Kukhoe Tosŏkwan* (National Assembly Library). Data obtained from archival sources were crosschecked with oral tradition. Oral history scholars (Fabian 1983; Rosaldo 1980; Vansina 1985) have pointed out that oral history should not be only a means of local history supporting the legitimate written history, but an ongoing process of the social memory. In other words, oral history is believed to reveal details involved in social experiences and their interpretations.

The fieldwork, focusing on the oral history, was carried out in Seoul and *kyŏnggi* province in 2002-3. One method I utilized in the fieldwork was "cohort analysis," which focuses on data collected from as many people of the same generation as possible (Rosaldo 1980). The collective subjectivities of the same generation embodied their past in cultural forms that "highlighted certain facts of life and remained silent about others through their patterned way of selecting, evaluating, and ordering the world they attended to (ibid.)." In the case of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, different cohorts remember the song style with different names, reflecting on their experiences on the socio-political dynamics related to the musical culture. Thus, the oral history contributes to an explanation of the subjects' historical experiences of the musical culture.

Lastly, musical analysis should be added. However, as asserted by many popular music scholars (C. Keil and S. Feld 1994), the musical material should include not only compositional elements, but also performing aspects. For the analysis of the compositional elements, notations are taken from scorebooks, such as *Hit, Kayo Pansegi* (A Half Century of Korean popular song, 1977), and *Kayo Mudae* (Popular Song Stage, 1991). As to the performing aspects, there are several different dimensions to be considered: firstly, particular vocalizations of the singers; second, bodily practices involved in the performances such as gestures and costumes.; third, conceptual practice, by which the song style is attached to particular symbolic values, conforming to the traditional Korean social values in

this case. Thus, my musical analysis of the Korean popular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is a synthesis of both compositional elements and performance style.

Meanwhile, I, as a reflexive self who grew up in South Korea and studied ethnomusicology in the United States, intend to incorporate my dual experience of the musical culture. As the youngest daughter of seventy-year old parents, I was deeply involved in the dramatic transformation of the song style in South Korea in the 1970s and 80s. However, strongly influenced by the elite nationalist viewpoint, I never considered the song style as the subject of a doctoral dissertation.

Challenged by the ethnomusicological paradigm, I began to examine Korean popular music from a distance, crosschecking my emotional and bodily experiences of the past. Consequently, I became simultaneously an insider and an outsider the period of my fieldwork, because I came from the academic circle for the purpose of a research, even though the locale was very familiar to me.

In addition, I realized that there were discrepancies between the interests of indigenous scholars and those of Western ethnomusicologists. Whereas popular music studies in the United States tend to focus on the anthropological interpretation of the socio-political and historical circumstances of music, most indigenous studies of Korean popular music were mostly done by social scientists or journalists, in which their primary concerns were given to analyzing musical sounds for the purpose of sorting out the identity of music. However, as asserted by Witzleben, every researcher must deal with "insider" or "outsider" perspectives,

although their nature and scope naturally are quite different when working in a familiar culture and environment (1997:234). Reflecting all the differences, I intend to integrate the elites' perspectives with popular discourse, and to meld indigenous historical musicology and ethnographic ethnomusicology.

Experiences

With the purpose of extending my understanding of the subject under study, I paid special attention to personalize my fieldwork. I subsequently found myself in many different relationships with various people. The followings are a few episodes that I encountered during the fieldwork. On February 15, 2003, I accompanied two singers to a charity concert in a private asylum for the sick and abandoned elders. Prior to the beginning of the concert, the manager of the place warned us not to be surprised at the elders' rather unusual behaviors, something I did not fully understand until I actually met the elders. In fact, several old men showed signs of hostility and anger towards the performers, while a few old women burst into tears and tried anxiously to hold on to me, forcing the manager to intervene and separate them.

A female singer whom I met at the same concert gave me a telephone number of the songwriter of her new song, adding that the songwriter could be helpful to my research. On the next day, I called the songwriter several times, and also left a message in his voice mail, noticing that he was reluctant to answer the phone. A

day later, he called me back and asked about the purpose of my research. I said, "I would like to study what people think and feel about *t'ŭrot'ŭ*." He seemed to be satisfied with my answer and told me to call him again a month later, saying that he was too busy, but he did not answer my call afterwards either. Nevertheless, I kept trying to contact the songwriter through his website and e-mail, assuming that he was simply too busy to spare me of his time. But I was unable to get him to respond to my inquisitions.

Realizing that it was not easy to interview someone who I did not have a direct and/or personal connection, I needed a mediator who could arrange an interview with professional musicians. After several futile attempts, a middle-aged male singer, Kim Sŏn-Jung, and a Korean-Canadian male singer, Lawrence Cho, invited me to several local events and introduced several songwriters and singers to me. The interviews included a one and a half hour interview with songwriter Park Nam-Ch'un at a music festival on April 13, 2003, and an invaluable two-hour interview with singer-songwriter Sul Woon-Do at a song contest on April 20, 2003.

I, as a married woman, found it relatively easy to build rapport with female singers. They were mostly middle-aged and married, and treated me as if I were their little sister. Some of them even brought up their marital problems, while others tended to talk about how difficult it was for women to deal with men in the music business. On several occasions, they felt comfortable enough to tell me

about scandalous relationships between female singers and gang members of local night-clubs.

For instance, I had a very close relationship with a female singer, and called her "*ŏnni* (older sister)." One day, the female singer, her manager, and I went to an Internet-café after a local concert to check her website. Then, the female singer took us to a luxurious seafood restaurant. After the manager left, the female singer and I stayed and talked about her personal life, including topics such as marriage and children. After an hour long conversation, she received a call from a CEO of an entertainment company. The CEO happened to be around the area, and wanted to stop by. The female singer ordered another dish for him even before his arrival. Ten minutes later, the businessman and his friends came and left after enjoying the meal. The businessman and his friends were lost in conversation about their own business, and did not even attempt to pay for their succulent dishes. The female singer said that she had to bear with the asymmetrical relationship in order to attain a good reputation, even though the reputation was not directly related to her music business.

Meanwhile, I registered for several fan-club memberships through the Internet, and attended fan-club meetings. As a member of several fan-clubs, I monitored singers' performances both in television shows and local events, and shared information of singers' recent schedules. A female member of a fan-club, *nasamo* (a group of those who love Na Hoon-A's music), was very enthusiastic about my

research, and mentioned me to a businessman related to the Emperor of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Na Hoon-A. The businessman invited me to a grand concert of Na Hoon-A in *Inch'ŏn*, while he told the singer that I was his niece who was studying Korean music in the United States. When the businessman told me to come backstage after the concert, I was anxious to have a conversation with the singer. But I had to leave the place when the singer's bodyguard intervened aggressively. The businessman promised me to arrange another interview with the singer, but it never occurred. Overall, my fieldwork consisted of more than forty interviews with more than fifty people. I believe that the relationship-based style of fieldwork that I followed allowed me to develop deeper insights into the musical culture than had I experienced as only an observer.

Selected Review of Korean Popular Music Studies in Korean Language

Most studies of Korean popular music have been done by indigenous writers in Korean language. Firstly, Hwang Mun-P'yŏng, a songwriter and music critic, prolifically produced journalistic and biographic writings such as *Kayo Paengnyŏngsa* (One hundred-year history of popular song) in 1981, *Kayo Yuksipnyŏnsa* (Sixty-year history of popular song) in 1983, and *Salmŭi Palchaguk* (Trace of life) in 2000. Similar writings include columnist Sŏn Sŏng-Wŏn's *8-Gun Showesŏ Rapkkaji* (From 8-*gun* show to rap) in 1993 and songwriter Kim Chi-P'yŏng's *Han'guk Kayo Chŏngsinsa* (The history of spirit of Korean popular

song) in 2000, and so forth. In their works, the three authors, as songwriters and critics, wrote embryonic serious columns of historical stories involved in Korean popular music.

On the other hand, substantial works were done by those who majored in Korean literature. Representative works include Lee No-Hyŏng's *Han'guk Chŏnt'ong Taejung Kayoŭi Yŏn'gu* (A Study of Korean traditional popular song) in 1994, Lee Yŏng-Mi's *Han'guk Taejung Kayosa* (History of Korean popular song) in 1999, Park Ae-Kyung (Park Ae-Kyŏng)'s *Kayo,* and *Ŏttŏtk'e ilkŭlgŏsin'ga* (Popular song, how should we interpret it?) in 2000. Except Lee Yŏng-Mi's in-depth musical analyses, most works of this side tend to focus on literary aspect of popular music, and try to compare it with traditional Korean literature.

Lastly, it is necessary to note two books from outside South Korea: *Minjok Sunan'giŭi Kayosa* (1995) by North Korean scholar Ch'oe Ch'ang-Ho; *Han'guk Kayosa* (1992) by Korean-Japanese scholar Park Ch'an-Ho. Dealing with the early years of Korean popular music, particularly the period of Japanese colony, both works provide voluminous stories related to the early music production. In addition, Park included substantial archival sources to be crosschecked, such as newspapers articles of those times.

Contribution of the Present Work

The study of Korean popular music has been overlooked throughout history for many reasons, even though it became one of the most important and ubiquitous social phenomena. The obvious reason could be a deeply rooted hierarchy between high and low culture. In South Korea, high musical culture of the pre-modern period was replaced by European art music, while low musical culture, such as folksongs and farmers' songs were replaced by popular music. Subsequently, popular music was not considered as an academic object. In addition, the highbrow attitude goes back to the Confucian tradition embedded in the Korean culture, in which elite culture was highly respected in the academic circle.

For instance, even though there have been many academic observations on Korean popular music as Master's theses, there are only three doctoral dissertations concerning Korean popular music, which include "A study of popular cultural practice of low classes—focusing on popular music (1994)" by Kim Ch'ang-Nam, "Development process and characteristics of popular music culture of the Korean youth (2002)" by Kim Yŏng-Chu, and "Consuming experience of popular music as cultural commodity (2002)" by Ch'ae Chi-Yŏng. Kim Ch'ang-Nam and Kim Yŏng-Chu take sociological approaches to Korean popular music, examining social behaviors of particular groups related to popular music, while Ch'ae Chi-Yŏng analyzes psychological aspects of consumption of

popular music. In other words, the three dissertations were done by either sociology or psychology major.

Considering that ethnomusicology, as a scholarly department, has not been fully understood in South Korea, it is hard to find an example of an ethnomusicological approach to Korean popular music either in South Korea or in the United States.[6] The present effort, as the first ethnomusicological attempt to examine Korean popular music, is believed to break through the academic paradigm of Korean studies, as well as Korean music studies.

In addition, the research, combining historical analyses and ethnographic studies, can help bridge the sheer discrepancy between the traditional Korean academics who follow a historical approach and contemporary anthropological study of cultural productions. As revealed in a review of the Chinese music studies, cooperating works are highly demanded in the Korean music studies as well:

> Ideally, intensive study of both Western ethnomusicology and indigenous Chinese scholarship on music can lead to a truly multicultural approach to the study of music…The integration of music history with contemporary practice found in much Chinese scholarship is also something we are still struggling to achieve in the West (Witzleben 1997:234-5).

In this regard, this work may be an attempt in the Korean popular music

[6] Recently, the ethnomusicological studies in the United States become various in terms of the subjects. However, most of them are still dedicated to either traditional Korean music or Western-style art music composed by Korean musicians.

studies that combines the methods of indigenous Korean studies that have favored historical analysis with an ethnomusicological approach that focuses on the ethnographic interpretation of contemporary cultural production. Opening doors to the cooperation of different perspectives, the research will contribute to expanding the scope of understanding a musical culture.

Popular Music Studies of East Asian Cultures

Surveying the musicological and ethnomusicological studies of the East Asian popular musical scene, I intend to contextualize the present work. Firstly, since each region of East Asia has a particular historical and political context, issues of popular music studies of different regions depend on their contexts. As for Chinese popular music, its studies tend to focus on political aspects, such as the political effects (i.e. crisis of national identity since 1949) of the modernization of Chinese music (Brace 1992), the relationships between state, gender, ethnicity and music (Nimrod 1997), and the fabrication of ideologies (i.e. imperialism and the nationalism) in the early Chinese popular songs (Jones 1997). Those studies examine the social and political functions of Chinese popular music in certain times, particularly modern period. Meanwhile, Japanese popular music studies include different issues, such as symbolic meanings of emotion in *enka* (Yano 1995), and a dialectic relationship between global capitalism of popular music and local rap music (Condry 1999). In the case of Korean popular music, even though

there has not been a doctoral dissertation in English yet, an article was recently written by Howard, titled “Exploding ballads: The transformation of Korean popular music (2002).” In this writing, Howard examines how lyrics of Korean popular music, regardless of its foreign musical styles, are tied to an ethno-aesthetics, such as *mŏt* (taste), *mat* (deliciousness), *hŭng* (ecstasy), and *han* (suffering and grief).

Second, as globalization progressed in terms of economy and culture, popular music studies of East Asian cultures focus on the process of cultural globalization. Particularly, they examine local responses to the globalization rather than homogenization of the global cultures, such as the resilient local popular music production against the hegemony of the West (Condry 1999; Dujunco, Reyes, Thompson, and Howard 2002). In addition, transnational identity driven by globalization became an issue in the East Asian popular music studies, which includes an identity construction of an Asian-American rap group based on the East Coast (Wong 1997), an identity negotiation in the performances of Anita Mui Im-Fong, one of the most popular performers in Hong Kong (Witzleben 1999), and so forth.

Another popular subject in the East Asian popular music studies that must be mentioned is karaoke as a cultural and social phenomenon. Representative works include a book of a collection of articles on karaoke titled *Karaoke-Around the World* (1998) and a doctoral dissertation titled “Between traditional musical

practices and contemporary musical life: a study of the karaoke phenomenon in Taiwan (Wu 1997).” Both works, based upon solid ethnographies, explore the cultural meanings underlying karaoke experience, such as technological, spatial, communicative, national, political, musical and gender aspects of karaoke in specific places and times (Tōru Mitsui and Shūhei Hosokawa 1998:3).

Reflecting on those previous works, this research, as a historical and ethnographical analysis of *t’ŭrot’ŭ*, a Korean popular song style, explores 1) the relationships between socio-political context and music, 2) the negotiating process of identity engaged in the musical production throughout history, and, 3) symbolic and social meanings underlying the performance practice of the musical culture.

Romanization and Translation

There are two different romanization systems for Korean: the Yale system observing a strict one-to-one transliteration and the McCune-Reischauer system transcribing the actual pronunciation. The Yale system is favored by linguists since it maintains the identity of each phoneme through all of its morpho-phonemic shifts and thereby reflects the structure of contrasts underlying the surface pronunciation (Killick xvi-xvii). However, the McCune-Reischauer system is preferred in the field of Korean studies and within Korea for public items, such as street signs and maps, since it depicts the Korean pronunciation as closely as possible in terms of English phonetic values (ibid.).

This dissertation, therefore, follows the McCune-Reischauer system that is still used by the majority of the international Korean-studies community both within and outside Korea. However, for the names of individuals, I follow their own romanizations as much as possible, while providing the McCune-Reischauer romanization in parentheses at the first occurrence of the name.

Overview

The dissertation is composed of three parts, with each part consisting of two chapters. Part one, titled "Concept of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*," is an examination of multiple viewpoints regarding the concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Since nationalism was one of the main ideological forces that has heavily influenced the meaning of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* throughout history, chapter one is dedicated to the debate between nationalists and evolutionists over the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which was initiated by music critics and scholars in 1984 writing in the newspapers of South Korea. According to popular discourse, the debate has been seen as a battle between the academic circles and popular musicians, because the former were mostly the intellectual nationalists, while the latter were popular musicians and music critics.

However, I categorize them into four standpoints, even though they overlap more often than not, as following: 1) essentialists, in particular cultural imperialist, asserting that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originates from Japanese musical tradition, 2) essentialists asserting that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originates from Korean musical tradition, 3) evolutionists

dealing with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Korean popular music, in which many different musical traditions could be incorporated and transformed, and 4) evolutionists regarding *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as an evolutionary Korean popular literature, in which popular discourse could be expressed.

Since those who asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a Japanese popular song style were mostly college professors either from department of traditional Korean music or sociology, who followed the early nationalist elites of the Japanese colony, they were considered nationalists, whereas the opponents were not. However, the other group also focused on the national identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, analyzing musical elements of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and comparing them with Korean musical traditions. In this light, both perspectives can be considered as essentialists in terms of their interests in the origin of musical culture. Meanwhile, most of the evolutionist perspectives appeared in relatively recent times. Considering the time when the nationalist debate occurred—the Cold War period under the military dictatorship, the recent conceptual transformations of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* were not coincidental.

Chapter two is an ethnographic writing of the contemporary popular discourse of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in South Korea. In doing so, it is, first of all, necessary to contextualize popular music in the entire South Korean music scene, while positioning *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the South Korean popular music scene. Then, it is also necessary to examine a number of indigenous terms regarding *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in order to understand how different people define the song style, i.e., how different groups of people

remember it.

The ethnography is composed of quite a few case studies: an old man's remembering of the song style; a middle-aged sponsor's letter in a concert pamphlet; and a young record salesman's story. In each story, different agents reflect their interpretation of the socio-political and historical circumstances into the concepts of the song style in a broad sense, on the one hand, and practice their bodily experiences of the moment in a narrow sense, on the other hand. Thus, chapter two, as a polyphonic writing of the ethnography, interrogates the multi-layered popular concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in contemporary South Korea.

Part two, titled "History of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*," examines the formation and the maturation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* between the late nineteenth century and 1970s. Chapter three is a historical study of the formation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* between the late nineteenth century and 1945, while chapter four is a continuing study of the maturation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* between 1945 and the 1970s. Each chapter is composed of a study of social transformations and an analysis of musical changes. In chapter three, as to the study of social transformation, there are three social forces that led to dramatic cultural changes–modernization, colonial Westernization, and industrialization of music. Blurring the hierarchical division between high culture and low culture, both at the ideological level and in the material dimension, popular culture occurred in Korea in the late nineteenth century. Then, Westernization and the industrialization of music occurred during

the Japanese colony (1910-1945). In this study, I intend to emphasize the Korean people's effort to build their own modern popular cultures, even though the media were mostly controlled by the Japanese authority, the Government General of Korea.

> This study [Broadcasting in Korea, 1924-1937] focuses on the creation of Korean radio insofar as it illuminates the problems and difficulties inherent within the Japanese effort to "assimilate" their colony. The central problem for the Japanese was to create and spread the new medium of radio in order to use it as a tool for acculturating Koreans to Japanese values. Ultimately, they inadvertently created a space for Korean cultural construction that undermined their original intent (Robinson 1998:360).

T'ŭrot'ŭ was also initially formulated with the help of Japanese radio and the Japanese recording industry. However, it is an oversimplification to consider it as the result of Japanese political and cultural control and assimilation. Koreans articulated their feelings and Korean identity through the popular song style of the time, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Chapter four is another historical study of the maturation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* between 1945 and the 1970s. Despite the national independence from the Japanese occupation in 1945, Korea suffered a tragic War between 1950 and 1953, and was divided into North and South Korea. Since then, South Korea was ruled by military dictatorships until the early 1980s, whose regimes were vulnerable. During the turmoil of that time, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was manipulated both by governmental censorship and by the people themselves. Stigmatized as a cultural invasion of the

Japanese colony, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* had to be transformed, by sanitizing the Japanese musical elements. However, the quintessential element of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, the singing technique—i.e. heavy vibrato in the low register and breaking sounds in the high register—was preserved and standardized.

Part three, titled "Practice of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*," is an ethnographic study of contemporary practices of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in South Korea. Focusing on the process of inventing cultural tradition in a certain context, I intend to examine how *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been localized and traditionalized in this globalizing society. Chapter five is a study of a local style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, cassettes of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, and chapter six analyzes the process of traditionalizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The local practice traces back to the female singer, Choo Hyun-Mi's national success of her medley cassette tapes in 1984. Due to the efficiency and convenience, local businessmen and producers invented a local style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, compiling many *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs in a tape. In doing so, a new style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is invented, in which different songs are played without recess, accompanied by the same danceable rhythmic rendition, and recorded with double-tracked vocal. More importantly, the invention of the local practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* occurred, negotiating with the local tastes. In order to analyze the interactive relationships between local tastes and the local practice, chapter five also examines the marketplaces of the cassette tapes, such as street markets, traditional Korean marketplaces, and highway rest areas.

Last but not least, chapter six concentrates on the contemporary practice of

t'ŭrot'ŭ in South Korea. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* was recently coined with another name, *chŏnt'ong kayo*, which literally means traditional Korean popular song. Underlying the conceptual transformation, there are multi-layered forces on different levels. Economically, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was not so competent as other song styles produced for the younger listeners, in terms of the record marketability. As said by Kim Kwang Jin, the chairman of Singer's Subcommittee of Korean Entertainment Association, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* occupies only 5 % of the record industry in South Korea. During the fieldwork, I could also witness that the majority of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers did not give any attention to the record sales, but focused on the live performances, returning to the more participatory form of popular production, such as festivals, song contests, and charity concerts. Aesthetically, the image of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a traditional song style demands an intimate performance style, which is the local venue. Consequently, the performance practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on the stages, whether in the national television shows or in local concerts, was recreated interacting with its conceptual transformation. In this regard, chapter six examines how Koreans transform conceptually and, at the same time, performatively the particular song style by advocating new images that can convey the traditional Korean values conforming to the traditionalism.

PART ONE. CONCEPT OF *T'ŬROT'Ŭ*

Chapter One: The Debate of Essentialists and Evolutionists

There have been fiery debates over the definition of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in South Korea, particularly in terms of its nationality. In order to clarify different perspectives of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, I firstly examine the analytic paradigm of Reebee Garofalo's article, "Black Popular Music: Crossing Over or Going Under (1993)." Dealing with the crossover of black popular music, Garofalo divided its racially charged debates into two categories: a black nationalist perspective and a liberal integrationist position (Garofalo 1993:232). According to Garofalo's conclusion, the first perspective decries the crossover as a mere assimilation without self-sufficiency, while the latter one celebrates it as liberating integration (ibid.).

Considering textual and contextual particularities of different cultures, I categorize the perspectives of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* into essentialists and evolutionists, even though the detailed ramification is quite complicated. The essentialists are again divided into those who believe that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* belongs to Japanese culture, and those who deal with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Korean culture. Basically, both essentialists prioritize the inherent elements instead of the transforming process, emphasizing the national origin of a particular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Meanwhile, the evolutionists put an emphasis on the process through which *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been developed and transformed throughout history, pointing out that there were political agendas

behind the essentialism in the 1980s. In what follows, I examine the perspectives of essentialists and evolutionists respectively, focusing on the newspaper debate in 1984.

I. Essentialists

First of all, since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was formulated in Korea during the period of Japanese colonization (1910-45), there have been politically sensitive issues involved in how it was perceived up until the late 1980s. As seen in a number of cultural theses in the Cold War years, most of the South Korean scholars of those times emphasized the cultural imperialism. According to them, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a cultural product that was conditioned by the asymmetric power relation—the colony. The cultural imperialists asserted that the cultural flows eventually would be connected to the economic, political and even military power involved, spreading the foreign cultural values and practices, at the expense of local cultures (Manuel 2001:20/162).

On the other hand, there was a different viewpoint regarding the nationality of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The scholars of this line traced the origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* back to traditional Korean folksongs and literature, insisting on its Korean origin. Most of these scholars were either popular music critics or popular musicians, while the cultural imperialists came from the academic circles. For this reason, the debate between the cultural imperialists and those who insisted on the Korean nationality of

t'ŭrot'ŭ has often been regarded as argument between academic circles and the popular music domain. Thus, the two different viewpoints—the cultural imperialism and the belief on the Korean identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* —may belong to one bigger category, titled as essentialists. Both standpoints territorialized *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as either Japanese or Korean musical tradition, emphasizing the national origin of a particular song style.

1. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Traditional Japanese Popular Song Style

There was a nationwide public debate over the definition and identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in a national newspaper, *Hangook Ilbo* (*Hang'uk Ilbo*, Han'guk Daily Newspaper) from November 6th to December 27th in 1984.[7] The initial article was written by a traditional Korean music scholar, Hwang Byung-Ki (Hwang Byŏng-Ki). According to Hwang, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is a dishonorable cultural vestige of the Japanese colony. This being the case, Hwang is of the opinion that South Koreans should discard *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and rediscover authentic traditional Korean music.

The term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was not used in this article. A different but denigrating term, *ppongtchak*, was used, which is an onomatopoeic word imitating the two-beat rhythm of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. It was not until the late 1980s that the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* appeared as a song style name in any public domain. The hypothesis for this terminological

[7] In detail, Hwang Byung-Ki wrote on November 6th in 1984; Kim Chi-P'yŏng and Suh Woo-Suk (Sŏ U-Sŏk) responded on November 22nd; Hwang Byung-Ki and Park Yong-Ku re-responded on November 29th; Kim Chi-P'yŏng and Park Ch'un-Sŏk on December 6th; four subscribers responded on December 20th; two social scientists finalized the debates on December 27th.

change is that the neutral term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* replaced the derogatory one *ppongtchak* in the late 1980s, after the national debate. The term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* will be examined further in the next chapter.

Since Hwang addressed the cultural imperialist point in 1984, there have been quite a few scholars who supported this perspective. These included Park Yong-Ku, No Tong-Ŭn, Kim Ch'ang-Nam, Lee Yŏng-Mi, Shin Hye-Seung[8] and so forth. Basically, continuing the early intellectual nationalism in the 1930s (Robinson 1998:372), a group of elites insisted on canonizing traditional Korean music as a part of the authentic modern Korean culture.

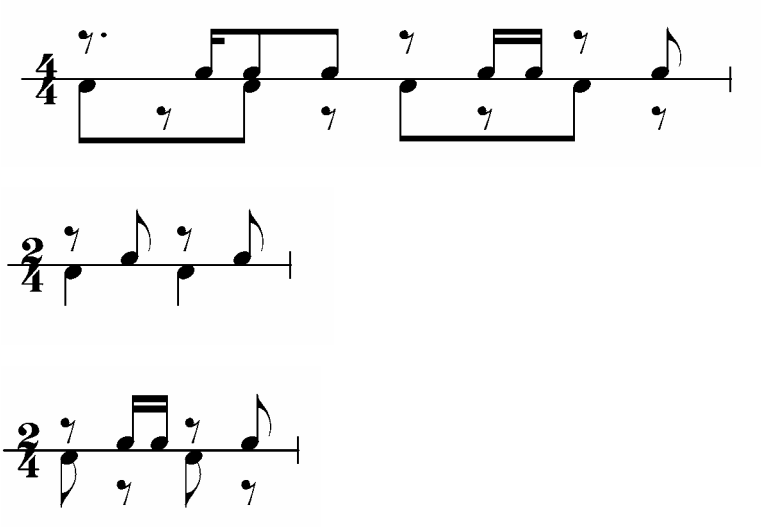
According to music columnist Park Yong-Ku, Korean people should clean out any and all types of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* because they are cultural commodities resulting from the Japanese colonial industrialization. Park asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was intentionally constructed by the Japanese mass media such as records and radio for the purpose of creating an economic and cultural colony in the 1920s. Thus, emphasizing that the early popular music could be used as an economic entity or a unit of propaganda, which is true more often than not (Ennis 1992), the cultural imperialists tended to overlook the detailed process through which people construct their own cultural spaces interacting with the socio-political circumstances, as seen in the whole history of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* later on.

[8] Lee Yong-Mi and Sin Hye-Sŭng analyzed *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on the basis of this standpoint, while at the same time supporting the evolutionist approach.

Meanwhile, scholars of the cultural imperialist stance mostly focused on the innate musical structures of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, such as modal structure, two-beat rhythm and literary form to demonstrate its foreign origin. What follows is devoted to the musical analysis of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* from the Japanese imperialist viewpoint.

a. Rhythmic Aspects

According to Park Yong-Ku and popular music critic Lee Yŏng-Mi, among others, the two-beat rhythm of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originates in Japanese traditional music. Park asserted that triple rhythm had been dominant in Korean traditional music before the intimate cultural contact with Japan during the period of colonization. In other words, Korean music is characteristically in triple rhythm, while Japanese music is usually in duple rhythm, if any. Thus, they based their characterization of a particular musical culture solely upon rhythmic characteristics. As was the case with Alan Lomax's cantometrics ptoject, such overgeneralization of different musical cultures can be misleading (Lomax 1968). However, considering the literal meaning of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, its two-beat rhythm may originate from the American popular song style *fox-trot* in a slower tempo, not from the Japanese traditional musical element. In addition, it is hard to find the backbeat expressed in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* either in Korean traditional music or in Japanese musical tradition. The followings are the typical rhythmic patterns of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, selected from the songbook *Hit'ŭ, Kayo Pansegi* (Hit, The Half-Century of Korean Popular Songs) in 1977 (Example 1):

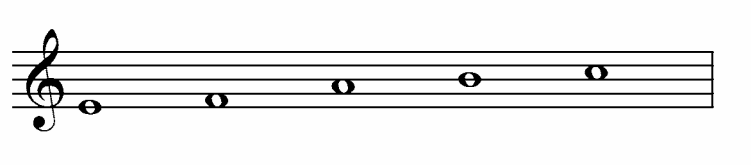


Example 1. Typical Rhythmic Patterns of the Early *T'ŭrot'ŭ* (Son et el. 1977)

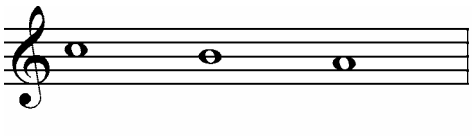
b. Modal Structure

Popular music scholar Shin Hye-Seung (Sin Hye-Sŭng) analyzes the modal structure of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs produced between 1920s and 1945 (Shin 2001). Shin concludes that most of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs between 1920s and 1945 were composed on the Japanese traditional modal system, which is *yonanuki* (mi-fa-ra-ti-do) (Example 2). Particularly, Shin points out that there is a typical motive in the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which is a trichord motive consisting of a descending melodic line with (mi)-do-ti-ra (Example 3). Thus, Shin's analysis fundamentally supports Hwang's underscoring the Japanese modal structures of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Hwang asserted

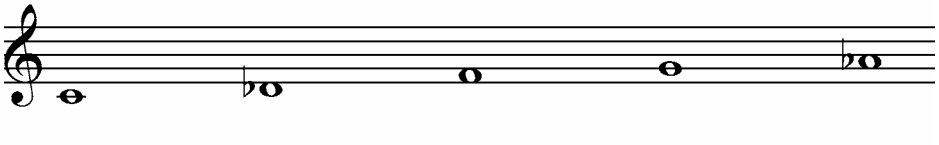
that Japanese *enka* in the 1920s developed the Westernized modal system *yonanuki* on the basis of the Japanese traditional modal system *miyakobushi* (Example 4), containing the relationships of mi-fa-ra-ti-do.



Example 2. *Yonanuki* Mode



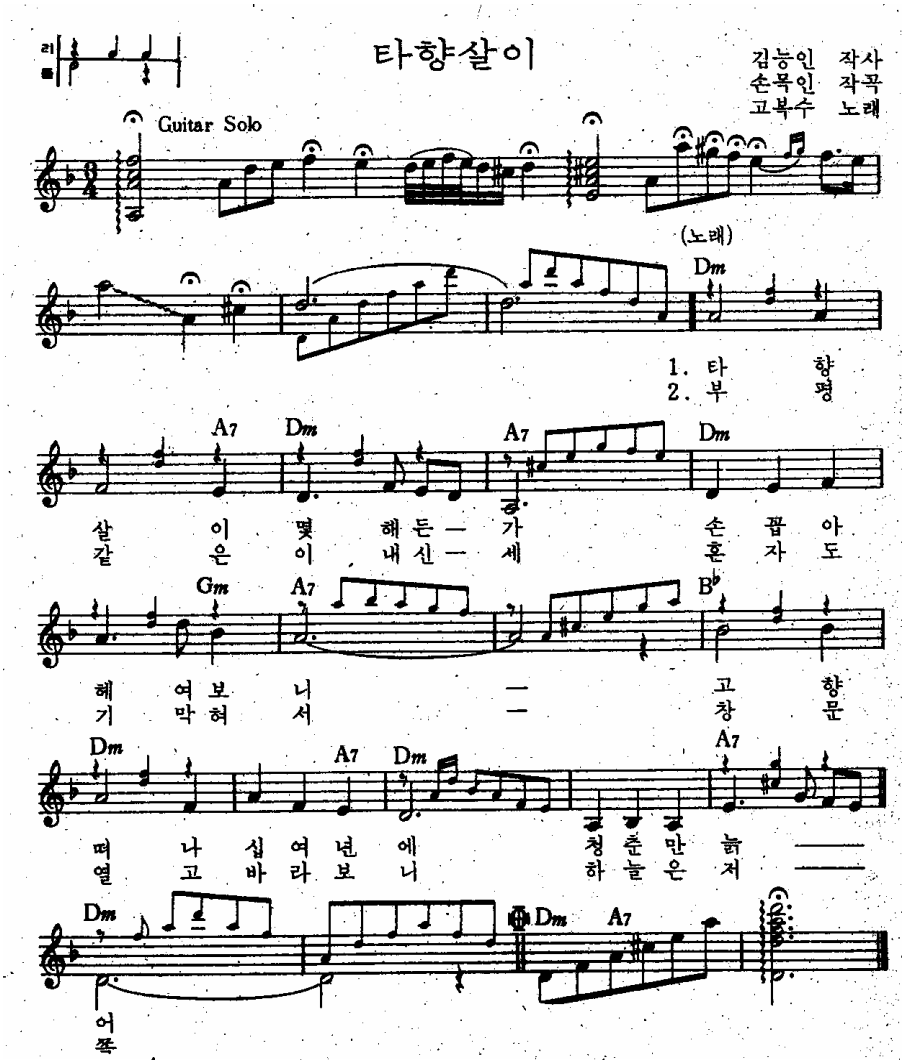
Example 3. Shin's Trichord Motive of the Early *T'ŭrot'ŭ*



Example 4. *Miyakobushi* (Adriaanasz 2001:818)

Focusing on Shin's trichord motive, I analyze a particular piece titled "T'ahyang Sari (Vagabond Life)," produced in 1933 (Example 5). The motive of (mi)-do-ti-ra is used in the measure 1 through the measure 3, and then repeated

briefly in the measure 3, fully in the measure 7 through 8, and briefly in the measure 14 through 15.



Example 5. T’ahyang Sari (Vagabond Life) (Son et el. 1977:20)

c. Literary Form

A number of lyrics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1920s were made with a couple of seven-five syllabic stanzas. The cultural imperialists said that the seven-five syllabic stanzas originate in the Japanese traditional literature (Hangook Ilbo, November 22, 1984).[9] They assumed that the authentic Korean poetic form should be *sijo* (a traditional Korean poetry form) or *kasa* (a traditional Korean prose form), both of which were used during the *Lee* Dynasty (1392-1910). *Sijo* and *kasa* are composed of four-four syllabic stanzas. However, Suh Woo-Suk (Sŏ U-Sŏk), a musicologist, disagreed with this assumption, tracing them back to *koryŏ kayo* (a traditional prose form) in the *Koryŏ* period (918-1392). *Koryŏ kayo* was set upon seven-five syllabic stanzas. The following is an example of a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song text titled "Aesuŭi Soyagok (Little Rhapsody of Sorrow)" in 1930s (Example 6), while the examples of *koryŏ kayo* will be presented later in the next section (Example 9).

[9] Kim Chi-P'yŏng pointed out that modern poet Ch'oe Nam-sŏn in the 1920s claimed himself to be the first Korean poet using the Japanese seven-five syllabic stanzas in his poem. Since then, popular discourse believed that seven-five syllabic forms came from Japanese literature.

Un—da—go—yet—sa—rang—i *O—ri—yo—man—ŭn*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *1 2 3 4 5*

Nun—mul—lo—dal—lae—bo—nŭn *Ku—sŭl—p'ŭn—i—pam*

Ko—yo—hi—ch'ang—ŭl—yol—ko *Pyol—bi—ch'ŭl—bo—myŏn*

Kŭ—nu—ga—pul—lŏo—chu—na *Hwi—p'a—ram—so—ri*

Even though I know crying won't bring back love
Tears soothe my heart tonight
Looking upon the stars through the open window
I wonder who would whisper to me

Example 6. Aesu-ŭ Soyagok (Little Rhapsody of Sorrow), 1938

Besides, *sijo* and *kasa* were not a commoners' culture, but a high culture for the male aristocrat called *yangban*. As asserted by Philip Tagg, a European popular music scholar, it is necessary to consider not only the imminent musical structure, but also the contextual function of music, when it comes to the popular music analysis. Tagg developed the method of interobjective comparison, which is describing music by means of other music; comparing the musical object with other music in a relevant style and with similar functions (Tagg 1982:49). In other words, comparison of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with *sijo* or *kasa* reveals a flaw in terms of their different musical functions or uses. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* is a popular music of the modern period, while *sijo* or *kasa* was an aristocratic literary performance of the feudal era—*Lee Dynasty*.

In sum, there have been essentialists, specifically cultural imperialists mostly from the academic circle, who insisted that South Korean people should rebuild their own popular music on the basis of the authentic traditional Korean music idioms, because *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a shameful by-product of the Japanese colony. According to them, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was produced as a unit of political agenda by the colonial mass media of the Japanese music industry. Furthermore, the essentialist scholars of this side tended to focus on the musical analysis of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in terms of rhythmic structure, modal systems and literary aspects: two-beat rhythm, a Japanese traditional modal system *yonanuki* (mi-fa-la-ti-do), and seven-five syllabic stanzas in the texts.

2. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Traditional Korean Popular Song Style

Kim Chi-P'yŏng, a music critic and songwriter, and Suh Woo-Suk responded to the Hwang Byung-Ki's cultural imperialist article of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* through the same newspaper a week later on November 29th in 1984. The responses also took an essentialist standpoint, in spite of a different opinion regarding the origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. According to them, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originated from traditional Korean music and traditional Korean literature. Meanwhile, Suh's perspective as an evolutionist will be examined further in the next section, as he, contrary to Kim, valued the transformation process over the stance asserting a Korean origin of specific musical elements.

Kim Chi-P'yŏng also analyzed the Korean origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in terms of musical elements, particularly the two-beat rhythm, which was interpreted differently by the cultural imperialists. According to Kim, the duple rhythm of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* goes back to that of the traditional Korean folk music, such as *nongak* (farmers' music).[10] Kim went on to say that the so-called founder of modern *enka*, Koga Masao,[11] was raised in *Inchŏn*, located in the western coastal area of *Kyŏnggi* province next to Seoul, until he went back to Japan to attend *Meiji* University. Kim pointed out that Koga Masao's first record of "Sake wa Namida ka Tameiki ka (Is Sake a Teardrop or a Sigh?)" was produced in 1932, a few years later than one of the first *t'ŭrot'ŭ* records "Hwansŏng Yett'ŏ (Old Yellow Castle)" in 1926.[12] In this regard, Hwang Byung-Ki responded and insisted that firstly, Koga Masao was not the founder of *enka*, and that secondly, Koga Masao's song was originally recorded in Japan a few years before its release in Korea (Hangook Ilbo, November 29, 1984).

[10] *Nongak* is a traditional Korean farmers' band music that is composed of brass winds and lots of percussions (Hwang 2001).
[11] A Japanese-American anthropologist Christine Yano also mentioned Koga Masao as the founder of modern *enka* (Yano 2002:36).
[12] The dates are recorded differently according to the sources. Christine Yano records that the Koga's song was made in 1931 (2002:37), while Sin records "Hwangsŏng Yett'ŏ" in 1927 (Sin 2001:301).

Following Proponents

Meanwhile, a documentary[13] about legendary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* composer Park Si-Ch'un[14] produced by a local TV station in 2003, reported that there was a plagiarism scandal involving Koga Masao's song in Japan. According to the documentary, some Japanese music critics accused Koga of plagiarizing Korean composer Jŏn Surin's song "Changan Kkum (Dream of *Changan* city)" (Nanŭn Sesan-ŭl Norae Haetta 2003). This song had been sung by a theatre interlude singer,[15] Lee Aerisu, in live performances since 1926, which implies that it was composed around the very year 1926 (ibid.). Thus, there has been other research attempting to demonstrate the Korean origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, comparing it with early *enka* production in Japan.

In the same documentary, a traditional Korean music singer and intangible cultural asset,[16] Cho Sun-Ja, asserted that the vocal technique of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was the same as that found in *minyo* (traditional Korean folksong) and *kagok* (traditional Korean art song). Cho even demonstrated different examples, showing the similarities between *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *minyo* in terms of vocal techniques. Furthermore, Cho asserted that the vocalization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was similar to that of *kagok*. A

[13] The title of this documentary film is *Nanŭn Sesang-ŭl Norae Haetta* (I sang the world), produced by a local broadcasting station *Masan MBC* in 2002, aired on February 19th in 2003. It was awarded with the Excellent Documentary of the year.
[14] Park Si-Ch'un was one of the big figures in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* history. He composed more than 3,000 pieces of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs between the 1930s and 1996.
[15] In the case of the women's music production, the early Korean popular songs were sung either by traditional female entertainer *kisaeng* or interlude singer/actor of theatre, called as *makkan-kasu*.
[16] Since 1962, there has been a governmental sponsor for the traditional Korean musicians named the intangible cultural asset, such as singers, performers, and dancers.

documentary reported that the early female singers performed both *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and at the same time traditional Korean songs, such as *minyo* and *kagok*. Since it was so, performance practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* may be deeply linked to the traditional female performance style of either folksong or art song.

Last but not least, it is necessary to scrutinize one of the biggest figures in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* history—Na Hoon-A (Na Hun-A).[17] He has been regarded as the emperor of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the recent times. Na Hoon-A tried to define the Koreanness of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* during his concerts and a couple of interviews on TV shows. The following is a part of a description of the interview published in a well-known Korean social magazine, *Wŏlgan Chosŏn* (Monthly *Chosŏn*):

> Na Hoon-A: *Ppongtchak (t'ŭrot'ŭ)* is like *kimch'i* (spicy traditional Korean food). Koreans cannot live without *kimch'i* and *ppongtchak*. Musical characteristics are dependent on climate, people, regional circumstances, and food. Korean music and Japanese music are different for this reason. Korean *ppongtchak* expresses continental characteristics, while Japanese *enka* draws on island circumstance. Korean *ppongtchak* should be performed with harsh vocalization, while Japanese *enka* with crooning performance (January 2002:344).

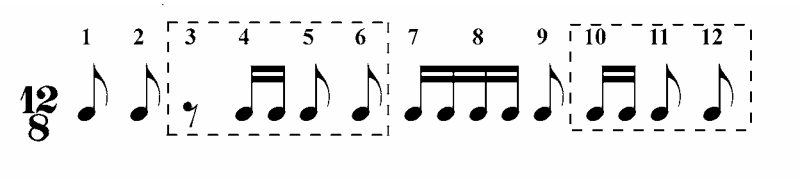
In sum, music critic Kim Chi-P'yŏng, traditional Korean singer Cho Sun-Ja, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer Na Hoon-A asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originated from traditional Korean musical idioms. As with the cultural imperialists, the essentialists of this side also emphasized the nationality and/or origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* analyzing the

[17] Na Hoon-A is a stage name of Choe Hong-Ki. He as a singer and songwriter recorded more than 2,500 *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. He has more than 53 hit songs, selling 20 million copies of the records.

musical elements. What follows is devoted to their music analyses of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.*

a. Duple Rhythm

According to Kim Chi-P'yŏng, there has been an obvious duple rhythm in *nongak* (Korean traditional farmers' music). In particular, the rhythm that Kim brought up for this discussion is *dure* rhythm, which was used in local festivals that were organized to pray for a good harvest. Example 7 shows that a section of the *dure* rhythm contains a similarity to the duple rhythm of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.* The rhythmic patterns inside the dotted boxes indicate the typical duple rhythm of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*:



Example 7. *Dure* Rhythm Containing a Similarity to *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

In 2000, Kim's monograph on the Korean popular music history provides us with one more example of duple rhythm from *minyo*, *banga t'aryŏng* (millers' song) (Kim 2000:416-21). Kim said that the miller's pounding sound—*k'ung ttŏtŏk k'ung ttŏk*—was similar to the rhythmic sound of *t'ŭrot'ŭ —k'ung tchachak k'ung tchak*, which eventually linked to the denigrating term for *t'ŭrot'ŭ — ppongtchak*. Kim went on to say that the triple *dure* rhythm eventually evolved

into the duple *t'ŭrot'ŭ* rhythm when it got faster. Interestingly, a similar analysis of the rhythmic transformation is found in the analysis of rock music in the United States. Michael Campbell and James Brody analyzed that the unevenly divided shuffle rhythm of four beat blues eventually evolved into evenly divided eight beat rock by way of the faster shuffle rhythm of boogie-woogie in the 1940s (Campbell and Brody 1999:35).

Thus, there can be different ways to interpret the same musical elements. In order to acquire an interview with a Korean traditional singer, I have taken a public singing class of *kyŏnggi-minyo* (folksong of *kyŏnggi* province) during the fieldwork in 2002. The singer and instructor said that one piece of song, particularly folksong, might be performed differently with two different rhythms. For instance, a folksong "Nilliriya" can be performed on a rhythm of either *semach'i* or *gukkŏri changdan.* The first rhythm is one of the representative triple rhythms of Korean traditional music, while the second one is duple rhythm in a slower tempo. The instructor added that the rhythmic choice has been decided according to the performer's feelings. In short, there have been renditions both in triple and duple rhythm in the performance of traditional Korean folk songs.

b. Vocal Performance Practice

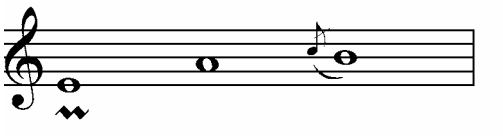
During the interview recorded in the documentary, traditional Korean singer Cho Sun-Ja noted that the early female singers of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* sang in a style that was very similar to that of traditional Korean vocal music (Nanŭn Sesang-ŭl Norae

Haetta 2003). The following is a transcription of her interview, recorded in a documentary film:

> Cho: The Traditional Korean song usually consists of five notes, like this (indicating five notes with her fingers). However, in the real performance, the singers use the three notes, missing the second and the fourth. Since the singers have only three notes to play, they have to add something between different notes, such as a vocal inflection called *sigimsae*[18]. The first note should be vibrated strongly, while the fifth note having a couple of add notes. This vocal performance practice is similar to that of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (Naneun Sesang-ŭl Norae Haetta 2003).

The vocal performance practice with three notes has been analyzed in different scholar's articles, such as traditional Korean musicologist Hahn Man-young (Hahn Man-young)'s article of the traditional Korean folksongs (1985:19). According to Han, this performance practice has been mainly used in *minyo*, particularly in the southern area of South Korea *Chŏllado*. The first note contains strong vibratos, while the fifth note is ornamented with a couple of added notes above it. The performance practice of the added notes above the fifth note is often called *kkŏngnŭn sori* (breaking sound). The following is Han's notational description of the three-note performance practice (Example 8):

[18] *Sigimsae* is the traditional Korean vocal technique mainly utilized for the folksong: "the lowest tone is sung with very with wide vibrato, the tone a fourth above is sung without vibrato, and the upper tone, referred to as a 'breaking voice,' may be roughly described as being preceded by an upper appoggiatura sliding downward (Han 1985:19)."



Example 8. Hahn Man-young's Description of Three-Note Performance of Korean Traidiotnal Folksong

In the same documentary film, Cho asserted that the vocal technique of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was so similar to the female vocal performance of *kagok* (a traditional Korean cyclic songs).[19] According to Cho, this vocal technique is one of the unique Korean performance practices. Traditional Korean musicologist Um Hae Kyung analyzed the vocalization of the *kagok* performance:

> In *kagok*, there are separate repertoires, with different techniques, for male and female slow vibrato…..a female uses both the chest voice and the head voice, known as *sokch'ŏng* 'inner voice' or *sesŏng* 'fine voice' with relatively narrow vibrato. The female voice is also characterized by high pitch, a nasal quality, and frequent shifts from head voice to chest voice and vice versa—a yodeling effect. These techniques are considered feminine (Um Hae Kyung 2002:818).

In the documentary film, Cho sang a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song and a piece of *kagok* with the same vocal technique—i.e. the combination of the chest voice and the head voice, high pitch, a nasal quality and frequent shifts from head voice to chest voice. Meanwhile, the traditional Korean music performance of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was considered as the local acceptance of foreign musical idioms, according to the

[19] The repertory of *kagok*, for male or female solo voice with eight accompanying string, wind and percussion instruments, consists of about 40 interrelated pieces, each setting a poem in the favorite national form known as *sijo,* consisting of three couplets (Hwang 2001).

evolutionist perspective, as will be seen later in this chapter.

c. Literary Forms

As mentioned, most of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song texts consist of seven-five syllabic stanzas. The cultural imperialists asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originated from the Japanese traditional music, believing that the traditional Korean song texts were made up of four-four syllabic stanzas. However, Suh Woo-Suk pointed out that the seven-five syllabic stanzas had existed in the traditional Korean song lyrics since the ancient Three Kingdom period (57 B.C.-668 A.D.). Example 9 illustrates Suh's assertion: (a) is the refrain of "Chŏngŭp-Sa," dating from the *Paeje* Period (18 B.C.-660 A.D.); (b) is the refrain of "Ch'ŏngsan-Pyŏlgok," dating from the *Koryŏ* Period (918-1392). Both refrains were made with seven-five syllabic stanzas.

O—Kui—ya—o—kang—do—ri
1—2— 3 – 4 – 5 6—7
Aeu—Da—rong—Deu—ri
1— 2— 3— 4 —5

(a) Chŏngŭp-Sa

Yal –ri—Yal—la—Yal—la—shong
Yal—ra—ri—Yal—la

(b) Ch'ŏngsan-Pyŏlgok

Example 9. Popular Seven-Five Syllabic Refrains of the Ancient Korean Song Texts

In addition, Kim Chi-P'yŏng cites another seven-five syllabic text of a *minyo*. This is the song "Kanggang Suwŏlle," of the southern area of South Korea. Its refrain is *hae—nŭn—ji—go—tar—(i)—ttŏt—ta (7/8), kang—gang—su—wŏl—le (5).* Thus, some scholars tried to identify *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a traditional Korean song style in terms of textual form, which was also used as the criteria for dealing with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Japanese song style by the cultural imperialists. The polysemic interpretation of music is witnessed here. Music, in particular popular music, may be differently interpreted in accordance with the circumstantial elements involved, i.e. socio-political agenda, historical context, and so forth.

II. Evolutionist

The evolutionists dealt with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as an organic cultural production, focusing on its transformation process. Contrary to the essentialists—either the cultural imperialism theorists or the other essentialists who believed in the Korean nationality of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* the evolutionists emphasize the processes of transculturation and syncretism. In doing so, the evolutionists examine how Korean listeners have reinterpreted foreign musical idioms, reflecting on traditional local cultural values of their communities.

Peter Manuel notes that the cultural imperialism thesis has been revealed to be

inadequate, as world culture has become both more fragmented and more interconnected than ever before due to developments such as the new mobility of capital, the enhancement of travel and media networks, the prominence of diasporic subcultures and the rise of reactive, ethnic or religious neo-fundamentalisms (2001:162). In the evolutionist study of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, there have been two different approaches: *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a transforming popular song style; *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a transforming popular literature style. Thus, the evolutionist scholars dealt with a particular song production, without losing sight of local listeners' relationships within the contexts.

1. Musical Evolutionist: *T'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Popular Song Style

The musical evolutionists studied *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as an early example of foreign musical materials, such as Western and Japanese musical idioms, being interpreted and transformed by Koreans. These scholars emphasized the local interpretation process of the imported foreign culture rather than the territorial origins of the particular musical elements involved. Considering that there are quite a few evolutionists analyzing the literary aspects of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, I intend to divide the evolutionists into two: the musical evolutionists and the literary evolutionists. What follows is the analysis of the musical evolutionists.

a. Socio-Political Issues

Suh Woo-Suk has taken the stance defining *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Korean musical

synthesis of Japanese, Western and traditional Korean musical streams (Hangook Ilbo, November 22, 1984). According to Suh, cultural flows between different cultures have existed at all times since the ancient era, especially between neighboring cultures. In addition, as Westernization and modernization had begun in the late nineteenth century, the transculturating processes got faster than ever before between Japanese and Korean cultures due to technical reasons such as the development of mass media and transportation. In other words, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a regional product of international cultural flows.

Suh went on to point out that fears about cultural absorption from or homogenization with neighboring cultures have also existed throughout history alongside cultural flows, and that such defensive attitudes led to the emergence of fundamentalist movements, such as the nationalist academic rallies against *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai asserts that homogenization/cultural absorption on a small scale may be more worrisome for local communities than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics (1990:5-6). In other words, asymmetrical cultural flows between neighboring nations/states may be more threatening than the cultural superimposition of a multinational mega power up on the local political system, because it is the national politics/political sensibilities that have been involved in transcultural processes.

Regarding defensive nationalism, ethnomusicologist Andrew Killick says that it has been a response to an external threat of both political and cultural inundation by its larger neighbors: Japan on one side, China and the Soviet Union on the other (1991:106-7). To support his assertion, Killick quotes the definition of Korean nationalism given by Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig:

> A nationalist group asserts its own distinctiveness and superiority because it fears not only political but also cultural inundation by some other group…
>
> Korean nationalism was already active among the upper class by 1910. Indeed the crucial fifteen years between 1895 and 1910 had been the watershed between traditional xenophobia and modern nationalism in most of Asia (Fairbank et al., 1978:178; Killick 1991:106).

Due to their political vulnerability throughout history, Koreans have created a strong national identity as a strategic ideology to protect the domestic political and cultural order. Robinson also points out that there is continuity between the early elites' defensive nationalism and postcolonial debates over modern popular music:

> Korean radio had a catalytic effect on the creation and expansion of an important popular cultural medium of song…It [also] underscored a tension with the Korean elite's program to create a national cultural identity…In this sense, the debates in the 1930s in Korea over culture anticipated postcolonial debates over the same issue in South Korea, with modern Western rock representing the new enemy to a "true" Korean music culture (1998:372).

In this respect, Suh re-analyzed not only musical elements, but also socio-

political issues underlying the nationalist Hwang Byung-Ki's assertions. According to Suh, first of all, it is of no use to define the nationality of a particular popular song style in terms of its modal structure or rhythmic types, because popular music is comprised of many different dimensions of musical elements such as performance style, vocal inflection, melodic progression, aesthetics, and recording techniques. Second, there was a political agenda beneath the nationalist debates of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the mid-1980s, such as the official opening to Japanese popular music/culture and salvaging of banned songs (Hangook Ilbo November 22nd, 1984).[20]

Since independence from Japan in 1948, Koreans had a colonial sensibility against the Japanese colonial experience (Newsreview, May 2, 1987:24). In the meantime, both North and South Korean regimes tried to legitimize their own state as the true Korean nation since the separation in 1953, inventing a new, yet different tradition. During this process of legitimization, each regime utilized the postcolonial sensibilities against the Japanese culture/nation for the political and ideological uses of its own state. In short, anti-Japanese sensibilities have been transformed into a cultural manifestation of Korean patriotism during the Cold War years. The legal censorship against *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs in 1965 was a political

[20] There was the legal restriction against the number one hit song in 1965, which was the empress of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Lee Mi-Ja's "Tongbaek Agassi (Camellia Lady)." The reason was its Japanese musical aspects, such as the duple rhythm, modal structure, and the singer's vocal inflection. Since then, the alleged Japanese musical aspects have been the criteria for the judgment of the quality of Korean popular songs until 1987.

interpretation of a particular song style, through which the South Korean government politically controlled popular music. Meanwhile, the South Korean government legally shut down the Japanese popular cultural flows into South Korea up until 1998, when President Kim Dae-Jung (Kim Tae-Jung) uplifted the ban declaring an "Open-Door Policy."[21]

b. Performance Practice

Most *t'ŭrot'ŭ* musicians have taken the evolutionist viewpoint. Park Ch'un-Sŏk, one of the most well-known songwriters, asserted that the minor pentatonic scale can be found in many different folk musics all over the world, such as Egyptian folk music, African folk music, Japanese folk songs, and Korean folk songs (Hangook Ilbo December 6, 1984). According to him, the important thing to be pondered is the Koreanization of the foreign musical idioms. Once being Koreanized by the Korean musicians, the components used in the musical production cannot be separated from the whole musical style.

In addition, Min Kyŏng-Ch'an, a musicologist specializing on the Korean colonial period, extended the rhythmic analysis of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For instance, *minyo* has a high incidence of two-beat rhythms, such as "Onghyeya,"[22] "Kudubak," and

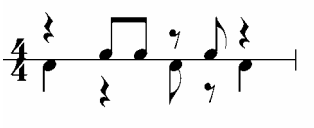
[21] The South Korean government set up a civilian advisory committee in the third week of May in1998 that will determine when, and how the Japanese popular cultural products will be allowed into the country. Conforming with the committee, Minister of Culture and Tourism Shin Nakyun announced the gradual market opening to the Japanese popular cultural products on Oct. 20 in 1998.

[22] "Onghyeya" is a folksong repertory of the south-eastern area of South Korea. What follows is a notation of its beat, called *danmori*:

others in the fast-tempo traditional music (Nanŭn Sesang-ŭl Norae Haetta 2003). Min concluded that the association of two-beat rhythm with Japanese music/culture might be arbitrary, and that regional performance practice should be the focal point to be examined.

Concerning performance practice, traditional Korean singer Cho Sun-Ja emphasized the key roles of the traditional Korean female singers called *kisaeng* in the production and invention of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. As a matter of fact, most of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs were recorded either by male intellectuals or female *kisaengs*.[23]

Kisaengs were traditional Korean female entertainers who performed for aristocratic patrons (*yangbans*) during the *Lee* Dynasty (1392-1910). Given this, they were trained as professional performers for members of the high culture. However, as modernization got faster in the late nineteenth century, the urban bourgeoisie emerged as the upper class who could afford the high culture. At this point, the high culture began to be replaced by the newly imported Western-style culture. According to Cho, the *kisaeng* performed the foreign cultures with their own performance style, eventually inventing a Koreanized Western-musical style, i.e. *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For instance, the early female singers of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* used nasal voice



[23] Due to the close relations between the theatric drama and the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, there were quite a few actress singers alongside the traditional female entertainers.

with lots of inflections and vibrations. They always performed added notes between two distant notes. In short, the interpretations of the local musicians play a big role in the indigenous creative interpretation of the foreign musical idioms, and the invention of a new song style.

c. Musical Aesthetics

It is worthwhile to examine North Korean music scholar Ch'oe Ch'ang-Ho's viewpoint of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Choe viewed early Korean popular music as comprising three cagetories: *Yesul-Kayo* (Art-Popular song), *Sin-Minyo* (New folksong) and *Taejung-Kayo* (Mass-Popular song) (2000:iii). Even though he dealt with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* under the third category, Choi mentioned the linkage of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with *sin-minyo* in terms of musical aesthetics.

According to him, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *sin-minyo* separated and developed into independent musical genres over time. However, in the early modern periods of Korean history, the two musical styles were produced cooperatively and dependently. Most importantly, the singers of those times sang both styles in their performances. Consequently, the performance practices were similar: nasal voice, heavy vocal inflections, and lack of harmonic accompaniment. In addition, the composers of those times were also engaged in both song styles, without considering any clear categorizations in the 1920s through the 1940s. Last but not least, Choi pointed out that the two song styles manifested the same aesthetic, in particular the Korean collective sufferings of the Japanese colony (2000:51-2).

Choi never regarded *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a remnant of the foreign cultural invasion. He focused on the Korean aesthetics that were manifested in the cultural productions of the time.

In sum, the musical evolutionists considered *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a local musical interpretation of foreign musical elements. In doing so, the evolutionists pointed out that there was not only a musical but also a socio-political agenda underlying the nationalist academic discourse in the newspapers in 1984. On the musical dimension, it was necessary to broaden the definition of popular music, including performance practice, composers'/singers' interpretative composition/performance, and musical/social aesthetics.

2. Literature Evolutionists: *T'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Popular Literature Style

It is interesting to find quite a few articles about *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the Korean literature department. According to Korean literature scholar Gang Deung Hak (Kang Tŭng-Hak), there have been two different viewpoints of the formulation of the early Korean popular music. Firstly, there were many scholars—e.g., Lee Yŏng-Mi and Kim Ch'ang-Nam—who asserted that early Korean popular music was formulated through the colonial Western-modernization in the 1920s. In the analysis, they assumed *yuhaeng ch'angga* (popular music version of *ch'angga*[24]) as the first Korean popular music. The second viewpoint is that early Korean

[24] *Ch'angga* is the Korean version of Western songs in the early twentieth century (2002).

popular music evolved from traditional Korean music through social transformation in the late nineteenth century (Gang Deung Hak 2001:241). Representative scholars of this stance include Lee No-Hyŏng and Ko Mi-Suk, both of whom are Korean literature scholars. In short, the former perspective emphasizes the transculturation aspect of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, while the latter highlights its evolutionary process from the traditional Korean song/literature style.

Gang Deung Hak pointed out that the two different standpoints were based on different definitions of popular music. The former scholars emphasizing the transcultural formulation of early Korean popular music associate the emergence of popular music with the industrialization of music, including the recording industry and radio. In this regard, Gang disagreed and asserted that recordings of traditional Korean music, in particular *chapka* (a mixture of different songs),[25] were done well before those of the transcultured foreign music—*yuhaeng ch'angga*. Besides, given that sheet music mass dissemination of Tin Pan Alley song in the United States in the late nineteenth century was an industrial process, mass production of recorded sound should not be the criterion for the definition of popular music (ibid.).

According to Gang, the factors distinguishing popular music from other types

[25] In this article, Kang defined *chapka* as a collective term that consists of different sub-categories, such as *kin-chapka* (long *chapka*), *hwimori-chapka* (*chapka* with *hwimori* rhythm), *san-taryŏng* (storytelling of mountain), and *t'ongsok-minyo* (popularized *minyo*). Criticizing that such scholars as Lee No-Hyŏng and Ko Mi-Suk used the term of *chapka* without defining its collective aspect, Kang differentiated between the four sub-categories of *chapka*.

of music such as art and traditional folk music, should be the mass/people's consumption of it and its simplified musical forms that may be easily understood by commoners (ibid. 242-3). In the nineteenth century, the cultural differences between high and low class began to be disrupted/blurred in Korea, and a couple of particular cultural productions crossed over the hierarchical barriers, broadening the range of audiences. As seen in the emergence of European popular music in the nineteenth century, crossing over in early modern Korean history implies moving from the bottom/lower class to the top/higher class.

In the process of crossing over, music is transformed dialectically in terms of either musical structures or literary forms. Cultural crossing-over in Korea led to the assimilation of cultures occupying different hierarchical ranks. In short, Gang and other scholars such as Ko Mi-Suk and Lee No-Hyŏng have taken the perspective that viewed early Korean popular music—i.e. *t'ŭrot'ŭ* —as resulting from the transformation of a traditional Korean literature/music, in particular *chapka*, and the absorption of foreign cultural traditions. What follows analyzes what I have termed as the literature evolutionists who focused on the development of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

a. Cultural Crossing Over in the Nineteenth Century

Gang categorized traditional Korean musical culture in the nineteenth century into two groups based upon performers' classes, listeners' classes, musical genres, literary styles and the performing places (ibid. 244-5). The first category is high

culture, while the second one is commoners' low culture. The low culture again may be divided into two sub-categories: the first sub-category is *chwach'ang* (seating performance style of poetries/songs) and the second one is *ipch'ang* (standing performance style of poetries/songs).

The high culture included the highly sophisticated song style, *kagok* (long lyric song cycle).[26] The performers were professional entertainers, such as *kagaek* (vagabonding male musician), and *kisaeng* (female entertainer). Even though the professional musicians and entertainers belonged to the lower classes,[27] the music they performed was categorized as high culture due to its listeners' class and musical characteristics. Since the upper class occupied a very small portion of the population, this literature/music was minor in terms of its popularity.

As for the low culture, its first sub-category, *chwach'ang*, included such song styles as *sijo* (simple lyric song), *kasa* (stylistically falling between *sijo* and *kagok*), *kin chapka* (long *chapka*), and *hwimori chapka* (*chapka* with a fast rhythm of *hwimori*). The main performing places were *p'ungnyubang* (aristocrat's entertaining salon), associated with such half-professional entertainers as *samp'ae* (lower class of *kisaeng*) and *sagyech'uk* (half-professional vagabonding singers). On the other hand, the second sub-category of the low culture *ipch'ang* consists of

[26] *Kagok* has been developed in association with Korean classical poetry *sijo. Kagok* has been also appointed as one of the finest of the classical arts.
[27] During the Lee Dynasty, there were four social classes: 1. dominant social class *yangban*, 2. middle people *chungin*, 3. freeman comer class *p'yongmin,* 4. a large lowborn population *ch'ŏmin.* The fourth class was predominantly comprised of slaves. In addition to the slaves, the *kisaeng* and traveling troupes of entertainers too were classified as lowborn (Eckert 1990:121).

t'ongsok minyo (standardized folksong) and *sant'aryŏng* (mountain songs). The *ipch'ang* was performed by *sadangp'ae* (troupe of vagabonding entertainers) in the *changt'ŏ* (traditional marketplace). Obviously, both listerners and musicians of this musical category belonged to the low class. In sum, there were hierarchically separated musical cultures in Korea until the nineteenth century, which were *kagok* culture, *chwach'ang* culture, and *ipch'ang* culture (ibid. 245).

As the society got modernized in the late nineteenth century, the cultural segregations became blurred. Korean literature scholar Lee No-Hyŏng deliberately examined the socio-political circumstances involved in the cultural changes of the *Lee* Dynasty in the late nineteenth century. Advocating that the early Korean popular music was evolved from *chapka*, Lee examined the socio-political backgrounds engaged in the literary/musical transformation. Firstly, as the pace of commercialization and capitalization increased, the feudal social strata of *Lee* Dynasty were loosened up. The clean-cut cultural divisions of different classes became blurred. For instance, wealthy middle-class men could now afford high-class culture, as they gained economic power (Lee 1994:80-3). Secondly, there were philosophical and ideological changes after the several international wars such as the battle against the Japanese invasion in the 16th century and *Pyŏngja Horan* against the Manchu invasion in 1637. The new school of pragmatic realists, called *sirhak-p'a,* driven by the international wars led to the middle-class men's engagement in the production of high-class literature such as

hansi (Chinese poetry) (ibid. 82). Hence, cultural crossing-over began in the late seventeenth century.

In addition, as urbanization and commercialization progressed in the late nineteenth century, *t'ongsok minyo* crossed over the barrier between the *chwach'ang* and *ipch'ang* culture. *T'ongsok minyo* of *ipch'ang* culture became the legitimate repertory of *chwach'ang* culture. According to Gang, crossing-over led to the formulation of the early Korean popular music, since a particular song style—*t'ongsok minyo*—achieved more popularity than ever before, breaking down the musical partition between different classes (ibid. 247).

b. Strophic Lyrical Poetry

Gang analyzed early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song texts in terms of poetic structures, comparing with those of *t'ongsok-minyo*. According to him, both *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *t'ongsok-minyo* are constructed upon the "strophic lyrical poetry" (Gang 2001:259).[28] In other words, Gang tried to point out that *t'ongsok-minyo,* as the most popularized song style of traditional Korean music in the late nineteenth century (until the early twentieth century), and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, as the first Korean musical interpretation of foreign musical idioms in the late 1920s, shared the same strophic form.

Furthermore, Gang assumed that both song styles—popularized traditional

[28] The strophic form is a song structure in which every verse/strophe of the text is sung to the same musical tune.

song style and Koreanized foreign/modern song style—must have been easily assimilated to each other due to the same musical set of strophic form. In short, incorporating into the evolutionary development of Korean popular music, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was formulated as the main musical style.

c. *Chapka* Aesthetics in *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

Among recent works by young scholars in Korean literature, there is an interesting article in 2001 dealing with the similarities between *chapka* and a particular type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ —techno t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley—of a particular singer—*Epaksa* (Dr. Lee).[29] It was Park Ae-Kyung who addressed this perspective. In her article, Park analyzed *Epaksa*'s music, drawing upon *chapka*.

Epaksa is a singer/performer of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.* He is also so-called the founder of a new type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which is *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. He used to be a tour guide for public tour buses, which has been considered as a working class cultural practice of South Korea since the 1980s. Through this early experience, *Epaksa* trained himself to be able to sing lots of well-known *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs successively, and at the same time interpolate social commentaries or non-sensible syllables. For this reason, the lyrics that were created by *Epaksa* disfigured the musical and literary structures of standard *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The following is a part of Park's article:

> In the case of Epaksa, we can find out the relation of globalism and localism, high culture and low taste and the culture of the young and that of the elder…. It is also

[29] The further analysis of *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley will be conducted in a separate chapter six.

> important that in the case of Epaksa, we can find out the similarity with that of Chapka from a point of its structure of lyrics, hybrid style, the scene it had been and its strategy of Popularity. The origin of Chapka was music of the lower classes and it has been known as representative hybrid style because of its inconsistency of music and lyrics. But increasing popularity and effect changed the status of Chapka. After Chapka gained the agreement of the higher classes, it became one of the most popular songs in the late of 19th century…
>
> Now we can conclude that the root of Epaka is in Korean traditional popular music and that the way of composing a scene is something in common with Korean traditional popular music, Chapka (Park 2001:183-4).

According to Park's analysis, not only did *Epaksa* cross over the barriers between high culture and low culture, but also took on the literary form of *chapka.* In detail, the lyrics do not have any consequences or structures. Each verse is improvised, reflecting on momentary circumstances in which the performance is taking place. For instance, *Epaksa* generally introduced contemporary everyday life stories that could make the listener get involved in the performance, like *chapka.* Subsequently, the musical and literary structures are flexible and improvised creatively. Focusing on the continuity between *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *chapka*, the evolutionists of this side tended to emphasize the crossover phenomena of popular culture.

Conclusion

Initially, the thesis of cultural imperialism motivated the academic study of the Korean popular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1980s. These scholars were mostly traditional Korean musicologists and social scientists. They considered *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as

a cultural remnant of the Japanese colonial experience, focusing on the Japanese origin of some musical characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, such as duple rhythm, seven-five syllabic lyrics, and pentatonic scales. However, the same musical elements were interpreted differently by another side of nationalists who believed that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* originated from traditional Korean musical sources. Obviously, the polysemic aspect of music is witnessed here. A particular song style may contain multiple interwoven meanings, interacting with different socio-political dynamics.

Meanwhile, the evolutionists broadened the scope of the study of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* moving away from the essentialist analysis of the musical elements toward the interpretation of transforming process of the musical culture. Both musical evolutionists and literature evolutionists tended to focus on performing practices, transforming process throughout history, and the interrelationships between socio-political and historical dynamics and musical production. Conclusively, the evolutionists considered *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as one of the Korean inventing traditions.

Chapter Two: Towards A Polyphonic Writing on the Definition of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

As was pointed out by Line Grenier and Jocelyne Guilbault, constructing the object of the ethnographic study demands a critical examination of the "Otherness" (Grenier and Guilbault 1990:390). According to them, the culture under study should not be viewed as a static object of predetermined people in a fixed society, but rather as the process of becoming and changing of a particular person/a particular group of persons in a dynamic situation. Grenier and Guilbault furthermore addressed three issues driven by the anthropological examination of the Other: 1) defining the Other not as a self-enclosed or independent object of study, but as an object that can be defined only in its relation to the researcher; 2) combining the international and local dimensions of the phenomena under study; 3) Viewing the relational character of the Other in terms of the silenced Us (ibid.)

As to the first issue, the authors asserted to present popular music according to multiple viewpoints (ibid.). Only illuminating the relationships between different viewpoints, the holistic picture of a popular musical production can be achieved. Second, the authors suggested to analyzing both macro and micro dimensions, in order to illustrate how certain musical phenomenon could be constructed on the international level and how its meanings and practices differ in each context (ibid.). Last, drawing on the relational approach, it is necessary to consider popular music in the broader context of the musical field (Middleton 1989;

Grenier and Guilbault 1990), within the historical spectrum of musics (Grenier and Guilbault 1990; Erlmann 1991). In short, popular music study demands a relational and reflexive approach in the circumstantial and historical context of both international and local dimensions.

Alongside, Timothy Rice recently re-advocated the subject-centered ethnography of music, asserting that the self, particularly in modern society, is a thoroughly social and self-reflexive being, and that experience is also social because it begins with interaction with a world and with others (Rice 2003:156-7). One of the major *pros* of this model can be the de-centralization of the researcher's ominous viewpoint, examining the subject's/subjects' experience(s) that may reflect the socio-political and historical contexts. However, its projected *cons* may be the atomization of the study.

Therefore, I intend to integrate the subject-centered ethnography with the relational and reflexive approach that Grenier and Guibault suggested, in order to achieve a self-conscious understanding of the musical tradition. In detail, chapter two examines different people's different experiences of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, without losing sight of a holistic dynamic around the song style. In doing so, I consider different names of the song style as a cultural product that can represent different musical experiences of the song style.

In the Korean popular discourse, the meaning of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is much more complicated than its definition in the Grove Dictionary: there are

multiple names for the particular song style; there are multiple meanings/interpretations of the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* itself; there are even multiple pronunciations of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* according to the different generations. However, the different understandings were never whimsical nor arbitrary. The concept of the song style has been complicated by the penetration of the socio-political and historical system, such as the cultural imperialism, nationalism, and globalization. Different groups of people remember and understand the song style with different names, negotiating with their experience of the circumstantial forces.

In what follows, I will examine the oral history of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* dealing with it as a cultural product that embodies the collective memory of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Consequently, this chapter should be geared toward a polyphonic writing on the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In detail, the first section will be dedicated to positioning *t'ŭrot'ŭ* within a broader context—the South Korean popular music scene. Then, the second section will address the theoretical and methodological foundation for the polyphonic ethnography. Lastly, the third section will provide a polyphonic writing on the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

I. The Typology of Music in South Korea

1. Positioning Popular Music

a. *Ŭmak*: Music, Nothing But the Western Music

There are three clean-cut categories in the South Korean music scene, which

are Western art music, traditional Korean music, and popular music. The Western art music is called as *classic ŭmak* (Western classical music). As in the United States, the main body of music schools in the higher educational system in South Korea is made up with the European art music, symbolizing its association with the high culture in South Korea, even to the extent that South Korea is renown for being one of the primary producers of pianos. The Western art music became a cultural capital affiliated with Korean high culture in the modern period.

Meanwhile, South Korean music has been heavily influenced by Western musical idioms. Andrew Killick has commented on the extent of Westernization in music of South Korea:

> …the dominant musical culture has become Western, to the extent that the linguistically "unmarked" Korean term for music, *ŭmak*, normally refers to Western-style music, whereas the minority interest area of indigenous Korean music is differentiated by the "marked" term *kugak* 'national music'. Most Koreans now living have had their musical taste formed initially by exposure to Western-style or Western-influenced music, both classical and popular, and even those who have made a career in *kugak* have often done so after previous training in Western music, making the change for reasons that were as much political as aesthetic (Killick 2002:803-4).

Whereas the Westernized concept of music has been customized in everyday life of South Koreans, traditional Korean music has been linked to political values such as nationalism and patriotism. Based upon ideological interpretations of music, debates over the identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* between the nationalists and the evolutionists also occurred, as has been discussed in chapter one.

b. *Kugak*: Korean Music

Traditional Korean music is specifically entitled with a term, *kugak* (national music). As mentioned by Killick, there is a general term for music in Korea—*ŭmak*. However, *ŭmak* mostly refers to the Westernized music including European art music and popular music, even though its literal meaning is any kinds of music. Thus, traditional Korean music withered to be a minor music as the South Korean culture became dramatically modernized and Westernized.

Then, the traditional Korean music revived as a political music, both by the right wing and the left faction. During the revival process, there were two noticeable socio-political forces. First of all, the South Korean government promoted traditional Korean music as the official national music, establishing national systems like *muhyŏng munhwajae* (Intangible Cultural Properties). As seen in the other East Asian countries, the South Korean government preserved the traditional concept of music as a means of social ethos and a measurement of state fortunes. The South Korean government believed that traditional Korean music could serve as an ideological value that can reinforce nationality. In fact, traditional Korean music *kugak* could never be passed down without substantial government subsidies once its popularity faded away. On the contrary, the left faction in South Korea utilized traditional Korean music as a means of social commentaries. In particular, they revived the music of the lower classes. Killick also addressed an ironic example of this phenomenon: "there is also an 'unofficial'

culture that deploys traditional farmers' percussion bands and masked dance-dramas as expressions of grassroots nationalism, or indeed as a vehicle of protest against the very government that sponsors its own approved forms of these genres" (ibid. 804-5).

c. *Kayo*: Korean Popular Song

As to the Korean popular music, there have been several replacements of its Korean term throughout history, such as *yuhaeng ch'angga, yuhaengga, taejung kayo, kayo,* and so forth. Except for the earliest ones, people still use a couple of different terms for the Korean popular music. Among others, *yuhaengga* (song in fashion), *taejung kayo* (mass popular song) and *kayo* (popular song) are the most commonly used terms in these days. According to Hwang O-Kon, who provided the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the Grove Dictionary, the term *yuhaengga* did not appear until 1926, when the first *ch'angga* (Korean version of Western songs), titled as "Saŭi ch'anmi (Adoration of Death)", Ivanovich's "Blue Danube" with Korean words sung by Yun Simdŏk, became an unprecedented hit (Hwang 2001:814). Then, with an aid of print media, the term *taejung kayo* (mass popular songs) started to be used along with *yuhaengga* to refer to the Korean popular songs (ibid.).

Recently, as the academic study of popular music has been institutionalized in a few colleges in South Korea, another new term *silryong ŭmak* (functional music) became known to the younger generations, particularly in the academic

circle. The ideological association of popular music with the so-called non-high culture in South Korea led to the creation of this new term. Even though popular music is consumed by all sorts of classes, it still belongs to non-high classes in South Korea in comparison with Western art music of high culture. This being the case, the legitimization of popular music as an academic study necessitated the invention of a new term. However, the use of the term *silryong ŭmak* is mostly limited to the academic circle.

d. Blurred Typology: The Postmodern Cultural Practice of *Yŏllin-ŭmakhoe* (Open Concert)

Meanwhile, one of the national television programs in South Korea, *Yŏllin-ŭmakhoe* (open concert) seems to be pointed in another direction. The programs of these concerts include all kinds of musics, such as opera arias, rock songs, children songs, traditional Korean songs, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The concert is literally for any kind of music. Despite the strange-looking combination of genres, the program has been aired more than 500 times during primetime every Sunday through the nation's representative public broadcaster, *KBS* (Korean Broadcasting System).

One newspaper article attributes the program's longevity to the fact that it was designed to appeal to a wide audience thus, breaking down hierarchical social and cultural barriers (Munhwa Ilbo September 19th, 2003). For sure, the hierarchical distinctions of different types of musics seem blurred in this concert. *Yŏllin-*

ŭmakhoe may be an expression of the post-modern pastiche culture, disrupting the homological correspondence between music and society. However, the subversion of conventional hierarchical relationships in the open concert does not seem to extend to everyday life.

In sum, the three categorical musics— *classic ŭmak* (Western art music), *kugak* (traditional Korean music), and *kayo* (Korean popular music)—still represent hierarchically and ideologically differentiated cultures in South Korea. Each musical experience has been interwoven with its related socio-political matrix throughout history. In other words, each musical experience consists of its own cultural capitals, such as particular performance places, its own repertoires, and symbolic embodiments of social practices.

2. Positioning *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

a. *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

Under the umbrella of popular music in South Korea, there are three sub-categories—dance music, ballad, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, according to the popular discourse (Lee Yŏng-Mi, 1999). The sub-categories are mostly differentiated in terms of the age group of the listeners. Dance music is strongly associated with teenagers; the ballad is generally linked to middle-aged groups, particularly of educated urban listeners; *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is supposedly associated with the middle aged and the elders.

As a strongly adult-associated song style, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* includes all kinds of Korean

popular songs produced before the 1960s, as well as the songs that were made and performed in a style similar to that of the old songs. For this reason, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is also called as *sŏngin-kayo* (adult popular songs) in some local TV station programs, such as *i*TV (*Inch'ŏn* TV station). As Western-style, easy-listening ballads began to dominate the world's popular musics, as mentioned by Manuel (2001:815), including the South Korean music scene in the 1960s, the indigenous popular song style became marginalized in terms of the productivity of the record industry. During this process, the indigenous Korean popular song style acquired the name *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, differentiating it from other recently imported Western-style popular songs.

b. *Ppongtchak*

As mentioned in introduction, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has a few more different names, such as *ppongtchak*, *sŏjŏng-kayo*, *aega*, *chŏnt'ong-kayo* and so forth. I intend to examine the terminology and its surrounding context further. *Ppongtchak* may be one of the most popular words describing the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The name *ppongtchak* is an onomatopoeic word imitating the rhythmic sound of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: *ppong* describes the first beat that is usually performed by a bass drum; *tchak* describes the second strong beat that should be emphasized by a snare drum. However, the name *ppongtchak* is not considered as a neutral word, in terms of the cultural values, but a denigrating name that ridicules the song style, as well as those who listen to the song style, particularly members of the working class. Subsequently,

the musicians who are engaged in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song production are reluctant to use the term *ppongtchak*, creating new terms.

c. *Sŏjŏng-Kayo* and *Aega*

The invention of such new names as *sŏjŏng-kayo* and *aega* was driven by the movement of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* musicians and music critics, who sought to revive the authority of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. First of all, *sŏjŏng-kayo* literally means lyrical song that expresses pure emotions. Emphasizing the pure emotions of the lyrics, the musicians intended to elevate and legitimize the song style as a serious Korean music.

The term *aega* was coined by Kim Chi-P'yŏng, one of those who advocated the Korean origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. According to Kim, *ae* is a comprehensive word that comprises all kinds of emotional suffering of Koreans (Kim 2002:196). Kim discerned six particular elements of *aega,* as in the following:

> Firstly, *aega* has a strong vitality, like a weed in the garden. *Aega* never died away. As far as Korean people survive, *aega* will come along…
>
> Secondly, *aega* is a humble expression of the people. It is like a river flowing towards the lower places…
>
> Thirdly, *aega* is like a pearl in a shell. It will become a folksong for the Korean people someday, after having matured as a popular song in the present…
>
> Fourth, *aega* is like a Korean hypocaust, which is a Korean under-floor heating system. *Aega* has persistent warmth that could not easily be cooled down…
>
> Fifth, *aega* smells like the perspiration of working people. Without its assimilating with the Korean aesthetics for a long time, no music can have such

effect…

> Sixth, *aega* has a riveting feeling, as in the traditional Korean taffy. The feeling extends to the traditional Korean aesthetics *han,* which is an expression of sorrow…(Kim 2002:197-9)

Meanwhile, those two terms have been used little in the everyday life of the present, even though they were promoted as the official name for the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* by a number of popular music critics.

d. *Chŏnt'ong-Kayo*

Chŏnt'ong-Kayo may be the most well-known alternative name that was recently coined as an alternative to the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ. Chŏnt'ong-Kayo* literally means traditional popular song. Obviously, the invention of the name *chŏnt'ong-kayo* was driven by its legitimization process. However, the name *chŏnt'ong-kayo* does not indicate any specific textual or musical style, except for implying the old-fashioned style. Besides, the name *chŏnt'ong-kayo* is recently a subsidiary term of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the popular discourse, as far as the nationality issue is involved.

Thus, there is the multi-layered terminology in popular discourse of the particular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. A few names are intended to be the official ones of the song style, because denigrating terms, such as *ppongtchak*, began to acquire the popularity in the public domains. In this dissertation, I prefer to use *t'ŭrot'ŭ* for this particular song style, because it is the most popular term among the

popular discourse. However, I intend not to lose sight of the political dynamics of the different names for the song style.

II. Towards A Polyphonic Ethnography

1. De-Constructing the Otherness

a. Dictionary Definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

It is useful to begin with a dictionary definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* before undressing its multi-layered popular discourse. Hwang defined *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, as in the following:

> Despite a few efforts to create *sin minyo* (new folksong) based on Korean traditional folksong style, most Korean popular songs during the Japanese occupation (1910-45) were heavily influenced by *enka*, a genre of Japanese popular song …(2001:13/814).

Hwang O-Kon defined *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a Japanese influenced popular song style, which happened to be known as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* —the Korean pronunciation of trot. Hwang did not further examine the processes of transculturation between the East-Asian regional cultures in the 1920s, nor its own transformation process since the formulation throughout history. Constructing the otherness, the dictionary defined the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a frozen product that has never been transformed, nor Koreanized.

As criticized by many anthropologists like Lila Abu-Lughod, Akhil Gupta, and James Ferguson, non-Western culture has been dealt with as a static and territorial

symbolic system that should be different from the Westerner's everyday life (Abi-Lughod 1991, Gupta and Ferguson 1992). However, culture should not be a static object, but the process of becoming and changing (Grenier and Guilbault 1990). In this case, it is necessary to break through the dictionary definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, collectively formulating a polyphonic definition of multiple viewpoints.

b. Social Memory as the Social Truth

Oral history scholars, such as Johannes. Fabian, Renato Rosaldo, and Jan Vansina, also criticized the existing anthropological attitude in constructing "Otherness," pointing out that it dealt with people of a given society as *a*historical informants. The authenticity of the Otherness was bound up with inventing a homogeneous and timeless cultural structure, rather than dealing with the detailed processes and practices of the culture. However, the social truth of different societies and cultures cannot be discovered by the evolutionary, Euro-centric and colonial mind. In this light, understanding differences, listening to people's voices, and reckoning ethnographers' self-reflexive interpretations should be brought together in reconstituting social truth.

Oral history scholars pursue the composition of subjectivity and objectivity in the research of social truth. In doing so, oral history is not only a means of local history supplementing the legitimate written history, but an ongoing cultural production of the collective memory of the past. In this light, the ethnography of the collective memories of the past—i.e. the different names of the song style

t'ŭrot'ŭ of different age groups—is one of the ways through which the social truth can be comprehended.

In sum, culture should not be a static system of a pre-determined people in a fixed society, but a composite of detailed processes of reflexive subjects in relation to socio-political and historical dynamics. Based upon this concept of culture, I intend to deal with the on-going interpretations of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a cultural production of the collective remembering of the past.

2. Polyphonic Ethnography

a. Cohort Analysis

According to Rice's proposal for subject-centered musical ethnography, a reflective subject's musical experience should be the center for ethnography, which consists of space, time, and the metaphor of music. A subject formulates his/her own musical experience, interacting with the dynamics of time, space, and the interpretation of music.

In this dissertation, I intend to extend the subject-centered ethnography to a cohort-centered analysis in order not to lose the holistic picture. Different cohorts use different terms, reflecting on their experiences in the different socio-political and historical contexts. The different names are not only a media through which people communicate, but also a composite in which different social facts are interwoven. Since so, it is necessary to interrogate how different cohorts, in

particular different age groups, remember the past differently in terms of the different names given to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

This dissertation utilizes "cohort analysis," which is an analysis that seeks to include data from as many people of the same generation as possible (Rosaldo 1980). The collective subjectivities of the same generation embodied their past in cultural forms that "highlighted certain parts of life and remained silent about others through their patterned way of selecting, evaluating, and ordering the world they attended to" (ibid. 18). In his analysis, Rosaldo categorized the social marks in Ilongot's conceptions of history, such as movement, fight, and feuding. In this dissertation, the social marks to be examined are the different names of the same song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, through which different cohorts remember their experiences of the pasts related to the song style.

b. Dissecting Knowledge

Before conducting fieldwork, I collected foundational knowledge about this song style from written documents such as newspapers, journals, magazines, and dissertations. However, most of the archival knowledge written and preserved in South Korea needed to be crosschecked for the following reasons. Firstly, the knowledge has been constructed on the basis of a mystification process, in which the musical style was politically and ideologically conceived.

Secondly, the archival knowledge of the song style has been constructed on

the basis of a biased truth, as seen in the dictionary definition. A lack of ethnomusicological researches may be one of the reasons for the biased examination of the popular song style. Except for a couple of South Korean Television documentaries,[30] there has been little effort to undress the multi-layered concept of the song style, valuing knowledge of the elites. This dissertation, in this regard, will crosscheck the knowledge with oral histories of the song style told by different people, in order to dissect archival knowledge and achieve multi-dimensional stories.

Therefore, I give voices to the individuals in the culture under study (Clifford 1988:51), dealing with the particular culture as a performative practice (Paredes 1993:109), utilizing three strategies, such as discourse and practice, relationships between a community and the anthropologist, and ethnographies of the particular (Abu-Lughod 1991), and so forth. The main mission here is the negotiation between the archival knowledge of writers and the on-going stories of the performers and listeners.

c. Polyphonic Ethnography

Polyphony does not only mean that a kind of music is made up with several lines, but also the entity allows each line to be independent from the other lines.

[30] The representative TV documentaries include "Taejung-ŭi Norae, Sidae-ŭi Norae (Songs of people, Songs of an era)" and "Nanŭn Sesang-ŭl Norae Hat'ta (I sang about the world)." The former was produced by MBC in 2001, aired on January 23, 2001, while the latter was by *Masan* MBC in 2003, aired on February 19, 2003.

But how can it be possible to construct the whole, allowing each part to be another independent entity, without losing the harmony between them? When we compose a piece of polyphonic music, first of all, it is necessary to make several motives. Then, motives can be developed differently in different registers: sometimes, several motives move simultaneously, or overlap each other partly, or appear separately at different times. However, besides the timing of each motive's developments—when to start, to what extent it should be developed, and when to stop—one of the hardest things should be making a harmony between the lines; resolving the conflicts between different lines; negotiating the whole. Even though a composer is positioned as a writer who can control every detail, he/she cannot easily escape from the independence of each line's organic movements. Once the composer gives voices to each line, its own organic developments delimit his/her ominous control over the whole composition.

As in the polyphonic compositional process in music, a polyphonic ethnography of the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* will help me answer the question addressed in the first place: in what way do people remember and re/interpret the song style, reflecting on their socio-historical experiences? Even though the polyphonic writing possibly causes the conflicts between different voices/opinions, it is also the way through which people articulate their musical experiences of the political dynamics involved in the song style. Popular music, as a musical culture, should be an arena of cultural negotiation (Middleton 1990), a web of reflexive

subjects' historical consciousnesses (Erlmann 1991).

III. A Polyphonic Writing on the Definition of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

1. A Story of the Aged Group

The first interview was taken place at a charity concert in the public park *Chongmyo*, located in the center of Seoul. The theme of the charity concert was *hyo*, which implied fidelity to parents and reverence of elders, broadly speaking. The ethic *hyo* is a Confucian-rooted Korean philosophy that was culturally indigenized as Korean morality during the *Lee* dynasty and is still preserved as one of the fundamental Korean traditional morals. The concert was held for elders regularly every Saturday. Consequently, the repertories of the charity concert were mostly made up of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of either old hit songs or contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. Picture 1 describes the concert scene.

Picture 1. The Charity Concert for Old Folks, located in *Chongmyo*

The performers took their stage costumes in the conventional way*:* men wore suits, or tuxedos with sparkling beads; women wore either Western-style two-piece/one-piece dresses or traditional Korean costumes *hanbok*. The formal costumes symbolize not only the performance tradition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, but also the bodily practice of the morality, *hyo*. The performers, as younger people, showed respect to their elders by wearing decent outfits.

Meanwhile, the audience participated in the concert quite actively. As the concert progressed, dozens of old men came out and danced with the music in the middle of the square. Most of the audiences were made up of old men, considering that women were supposed to be associated with indoor activities, according to the traditional custom. The repertories of the concert were composed

of old hit *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of big names and recent *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of the performers themselves.

During the concert, I engaged in conversation with several audience members. The interviewees were mostly in their 60s and 70s. During the interview, they used different names for the song style: one man called this song style *yuhaengga*; another man used the term *torotto*, which is a more Japanese-oriented pronunciation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*[31]; another man said that this kind of song was an old style song.

According to the first informant, there was no such term as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* when he used to listen to the music most (around the 1930 until the 60s). He said that people called all kinds of popular music *yuhaengga* (songs in fashion). In other words, there was not a categorical difference of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* from other popular song styles in early South Korean popular music history. According to him, since the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was so dominant in those times, there was no need to differentiate it from other styles. In the early periods, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was synonymous with *yuhaengga*.

The second informant, who pronounced *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as *torotto* (Japanese pronunciation of *trot*), was familiar with the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. His interpretation of the term was quite different from that of academic writings. According to him,

[31] Those who spent their early years during the colonial period were given Japanese education. Their languages, including the pronunciations of the English terms, were heavily influenced by the Japanese practices.

t'ŭrot'ŭ is different from the Japanese song style *enka* in terms of its musical timbres and aesthetics. He said that he could not explain why, but he could feel how different they were. There is something in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* that he could not feel with other song styles, including the Japanese song style *enka*. He continued to say that lyrics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* could represent the Korean aesthetics of life. For sure, his remark implies his knowledge about the nationalist argument regarding the identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1980s. Even during an informal conversation after the interview, the man enthusiastically commented on the political issues that had been associated with the song style in the Cold War years—i.e. the cultural imperialism.

The third informant, who said that this type of song included all kinds of old-fashioned songs, went on to say that all of these old-fashioned songs were to be called *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Underlying this interpretation, the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* also symbolized the old, traditional, and conventional values linked to the particular song style. As a matter of fact, since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been dramatically transformed, recent *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs are quite different from earlier ones, not only musically but also aesthetically. Contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* does not represent the traditional Korean sorrowful aesthetic *han* any more, but has become more cheerful than any other song style. However, the traditionalism affixed to the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* obviously survived as its innate aesthetic.

Thus, during the interview in the charity concert, the age group of people in their 60s and 70s used the names *yuhaengga* and *torotto* (*t'ŭrot'ŭ*), perceiving the

song style as a unique Korean cultural product that could represent a Korean aesthetic.

2. A Story of the Middle-Aged People

The middle aged group in their late 30s, 40s and 50s are the so-called main customers in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* markets. In particular, the working class male listeners like taxi drivers and highway bus drivers are considered as the agents who actively participate in the production and consumption of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. However, there are various viewpoints among the middle-aged, not only because there are many different positions, such as occupation, class, and political agenda, in the same age group, but also because they were influenced by the debate on the identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1980s either directly or indirectly. As far as the concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is concerned, the popular discourse of the middle-age group may be more complicated than those of any other age groups.

a. Fan-Club Members

The first interview with middle-aged group took place in an old-fashioned Korean restaurant, in which the members of a fan club for a little known *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer got together. The fan club was voluntarily founded through one of the cyber cafés on the Internet.[32] As a matter of fact, the singer whom the fan club supported

[32] There are virtual cafés over the internet in South Korea, through which people sometimes develop their relationships into a real organization. Recently, most of the fan clubs rely on the

was not as famous as to have his own fan club. However, the accessibility to the singer enabled them to make the fan club voluntarily. The fan club meetings took place in a restaurant or a [real] café on a monthly basis. During the meeting, they do not talk about the songs or the singer so much. Rather they prefer to accumulate their bonding and togetherness. As I approached them for an interview, they pointed out that the intimacy and the togetherness was the aesthetic trademark of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Without the particular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, they could not have acquired the togetherness among the strangers.

Most of the members in the fan club were middle-aged men. It was them who used the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* at all times during the interviews. Surely, they also used *ppongtchak* alongside, to make fun of the song style. At first, they were so surprised at my academic interest in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, because the song style never got such interest before, except for the cultural imperialist criticism. Since the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was supposed to belong to the working class music, it was never considered as an academically valuable music, according to the popular belief.

Picture 2 was taken in another fan club meeting for Na Hoon-A, one of the most well-known *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers. The meeting of this fan club was more professional than the previous one. The members were from all over the country; the organization was very well constructed through the Internet as well as the personal network; they had more than 1,000 members in April 2003; the meeting

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internet in South Korea.

was regularly held on a monthly basis. The example that could precisely indicate their commitment was the pseudo-conference, in which they discussed the early years of Na Hoon-A with the very songwriter Chŏng Ung who gave the songs to the singer. The following picture was the gathering scene right after the conference with the songwriter.

Picture 2. *Norae-Bang* Scene: one of the most popular forms of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* reproductions

The members of the fan club extended their musical experience to their everyday life, i.e. listening to the music and regularly visiting the *norae-bang* (private room for *karaoke*). Some of the fans even produced their own personal albums. The fan club members articulated their identity—middle-aged Koreans—through the re/production of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Returning to the conference, the fans and the songwriter talked about the definition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, considering my appearance in the meeting. They focused on how this particular song could represent their identity as the middle-aged group in South Korea. According to a man who is a look-like of the singer Na Hoon-A, it was *t'ŭrot'ŭ* that could express men's suffering, loneliness, and pain. The man added that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was the song style for the men feeling nostalgia about their hometown and the past. In other words, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* represented not only the middle age men's musical aesthetics in South Korea, but also the nostalgia.

b. Musicians

Meanwhile, there were quite a few interviews with professional musicians of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, whether they were big or little in terms of fame. The musicians mostly used several terms without any differentiation during personal conversation. However, they brought up an issue of the terminology more often than not.

For instance, a concert of Internet broadcasting station *T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana* was held in a small café in March 2003. The owner of the café was a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer, Ko Yŏng-Chun, who was also a son of the big figures in the Korean popular music history, which were Ko Pok-Su and Hwang Kŭm-Sim. Both his father and mother belonged to the first generation of the history of *t'ŭtor'ŭ*. When I asked about *t'ŭtor'ŭ*, Ko enthusiastically asserted that this song style should be renamed with a different name, instead of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Since the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* only described the rhythmic feature of the song style, it was not the appropriate name for the song

style. Like the other music critics who were aware of the political issues regarding identity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* Ko asserted that *chŏnt'ong-kayo* (traditional popular songs) would be a better term for the song style, believing that the new name would bring authority to the song style.

Similar statements could be found in the pamphlet of a festival, *Nam In-Su Kayoje*, held in April 2003. Picture 3 is the cover of the pamphlet. The pamphlet consisted of different complementary letters of professional musicians and sponsors of the festival. The first letter was written by Kim Kwang-Jin, the chairman of Singer's Subcommittee of Korean Entertainment Association, who used to be a singer himself. In the letter, Kim emphasizes the social importance of the song style, using the term *chŏnt'ong-kayo*. According to Kim, the song style, as traditional Korean music, has been produced throughout history, bringing hope, joy, and brevity to the community.

The next letter was written by comedian Song Hae, who has been the host of a national amateur song contest, *chŏn'guk norae charang*, of KBS. In the letter, Song used a combinational term *chŏnt'ong sŏjŏng kayo* referring the song style. Song, as the president of an old entertainers' association, wrote the encouraging letter for the festival, mentioning that the song style expressed Koran ethno-aesthetics *han*. Another letter by O Min-U, a well-known respectful songwriter of

Picture 3. The Pamphlet of *Nam In-Su Kayoje*

Picture 5. The Pamphlet of *Che 1 hoe Taehan Min'guk T'ŭrot'ŭ Kayoje*

t'ŭtor'ŭ, contained another term, *sŏjŏng kayo*, in reference to the song style. In the letter, O emphasized its lyrical aspect that expressed Korean aesthetics.

c. Others

Festival Placards

Since previous discourses were highly involved in the agents' reflective interpretation of the song style, several commercial venues should be mentioned in order to examine popular discourse. One example was the placard of the festival, *Nam In-Su Kayoje*.

Picture 4. The Placard of *Nam In-Su Kayoje*, April 13th, 2003.

In the placard, *Che 13 Hoe Nam In Su Chŏngt'ong (T'ŭrot) Kayoje* (the 13th

Nam In-Su Traditioanl (*T'ŭrot'ŭ*), Festival), the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was used in the parenthesis, specifying the song style of the festival. Given that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was the most popular name of the song style, it is not surprising to add it in the placard.

The next example can be the title of another festival, *Che 1 hoe Taehan Min'guk T'ŭrot'ŭ Kayoje* (The 1st Korea Trot Song Festival). At this time, the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was directly used in the title itself, indicating that it was the popular term for the song style. Regardless of the ambiguous origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* or trot in Korea, it was locally coined as the term for the Korean popular song style.

TV Shows

Another venue that must be mentioned is a TV show. Under the paternal government in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, the Korean television always played a key role in protecting and controlling viewers' discourses and aesthetics. However, as the national broadcasting systems were privatized and commercialized, the television programs tend to follow popular trends, reflecting viewers' tastes.

There are several TV shows mostly programmed for *t'ŭrot'ŭ* such as *Kayo Mudae* (popular song stage) on KBS, *Kayo Concert* (popular song concert) on MBC, and *Kayoshow* (popular song show) on SBS. In a special episode of *Kayoshow* titled *Han'gukin Aech'ang kayo 100sŏn* (Korean all-time favorite 100 popular songs), the host said that the top 100 consist of 64 *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, 28 ballad, 8 dance songs. Considering the main viewers of the show, the survey must have

been done with middle-aged adults whose ages were between the late thirties and the fifties. In other words, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is the most popular song style among the so-called Korean adults, and the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is legitimately used in the national television program. *Sŏngin kayo best 30* of *iTV* (Kyung-in broadcasting limited), a local television show programmed mostly with contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, used another term in the program title, *sŏngin kayo* (adult popular song), indicating that the main listeners of the song style consist of *sŏngin* (adult).

In sum, the terminology of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the middle-aged people is complicatedly layered according to the agents' interpretations of the music. Firstly, those who wish to elevate the song style to a traditional and artistic music tend to use such different names as *chŏnt'ong kayo*, *sŏjŏng kayo*, or *chŏnt'ong sŏjŏng kayo*. Second, in the commercial venues like festival placard on the street and TV shows, the most popular term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was mainly used. Last, in most private and informal conversations with either musicians or listeners, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was generally used with the onomatopoeic and derogatory name *ppongtchak* alongside.

3. A Story of the Young People

Ironically, an interview with the younger age group below the thirties was conducted in the concert of Na Hoon-A. The interviewees were the salesmen who sold musical products of the singer and the concert, such as CDs and cassette tapes. The salesmen were also surprised at my academic interest in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, and

even laughed at me. To them, the song style was definitely not high culture. They were convinced that they did not belong to this culture, even though they were engaged in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* market. They even pronounced the term with a more English accent—*trot.* According to them, the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* symbolized old, naïve, traditional, and conventional values that belonged to the elders.

Meanwhile, I met a group of nineteen-year old students who wished to major in popular music in college. They considered *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as another genre in the Korean popular music scene, like rock or ballad. Their concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was very neutral in terms of social values. According to them, they had to learn how to sing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a requirement in college. They also said that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was reinvented by young rock bands like the Ppangkkurok and the Hwang Sin-Hye bands. Obviously, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was not the most attractive musical category for young people, even though they were quite familiar with the music and its term.

Conclusion

T'ŭrot'ŭ is a South Korean popular song style, generally known as a sentimental love song performed with lots of vocal inflections. However, terminology of the song style is complicated in the academic writings, as well as in the popular discourse. Even the current Korean term for the subject of the research, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, was not coined until the 1980s, when the song style had already existed for more than six decades. For this reason, different agents, particularly

different age groups, remember the song style with different names. Even though I follow the most popular term *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in reference to the song style, it is quite worthwhile examining its terminology in order to understand the socio-political and historical dynamics involved in the song style.

In this chapter, I divided the informants into three cohorts: the elders (60s+), the middle-aged group (mid 30s-50s) and the relative youngsters (-early 30s). Again, each cohort can be divided into several groups in terms of his/her sex, class and profession. Different cohorts who experienced different socio-political dynamics throughout history remembered the song style with different names.

For instance, a retired old man spending his pastime in the park remembered the song style with a different term, *yuhaengga* (music in fashion), mainly because it was the name of the song style in the 1940s and 50s, when he experienced it the most. However, the term *yuhaengga* became generalized in the end to indicate all kinds of Korean popular songs. Another example may be a middle-aged taxi driver who used another term, *ppongtchak,* (imitating sound of duple rhythm) for this song style. *Ppongtchak,* an onomatopoeic word reflecting the duple meter, has been widely used since the 1950s (Hwang 2001). However, since *ppongtchak* was considered as a derogatory name ridiculing the song style, a number of popular musicians and music critics suggested that it should be renamed with more noble terms, such as *sŏjŏng kayo* (lyrical popular song) and *chŏnt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song). The former emphasizes the sentimental

element of the song style, while the latter highlights the traditionalization of the song style. As a result, the term *chŏnt'ong kayo* became recently popular to the extent that it could affect the images of the song style and the singers. *T'ŭrot'ŭ*, as a traditional Korean song style, is expected to reproduce the traditional Korean morals either musically or symbolically.

Meanwhile, in the contemporary public discourses, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is coined as its current name for the song style. For instance, the host[33] of *yŏllin ŭmak-hoe* (open concert), which is one of the most popular and privileged television shows aired through the national broadcasting station KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), introduces the singers of this song style with the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Hwang O-Kon also defines the song style as *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which is supposedly derived from fox-trot (2001).[34] Driven by their own socio-political and historical experiences, different agents, particularly different age groups, remember the song style with several different names, such as *yuhaengga*, *ppongtchak*, *sŏjŏng kayo*, *chŏnt'ong kayo*, *sŏngin kayo*, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

[33] Typically, the show has been hosted by female announcers, who supposedly use the standard Korean.
[34] There are no academic studies regarding the origin of the term *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. However, mostly it has been said that it was associated with the rhythmic feature, two-beat of fox-trot.

PART TWO. HISTORY OF *T'ŬROT'Ŭ*

Chapter Three: The Formation of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

(the Late Nineteenth Century –1945)

T'ŭrot'ŭ, as one of the first Korean popular song styles, dominated the early Korean popular song productions until the early 1960s, in which *mi-8-gun* musicians (Korean musicians for the American 8th brigade during the Korean War) became popular among the Korean public through TV shows. In other words, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* mostly represented the early Korean popular music scene, before Korean popular music became diversified and more westernized due to the Western-style popular songs' popularity in the 1960s.

This chapter is devoted to examining the formative period of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which is between the late nineteenth century and 1945. As mentioned, since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* dominated the early Korean popular music scene, the study of the early phase of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* may reveal the whole Korean popular music scene of those times, and vice versa. In what follows, I deal with the social transformation and musical changes in the formative phase of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* respectively.

I. Modernization, Westernization and Industrialization of Music

Even though ideological and economic transformation began in the late seventeenth century, dramatic cultural changes of *Lee* Dynasty occurred in the late

nineteenth century, such as modernization and the rise of popular culture. Then, the Korean society experienced the colonial westernization during the Japanese occupation between 1910 and 1945. During this period, the multinational record industry came to Korea by way of the Japanese agents to sell phonographs and records. The record companies wanted to open up new markets, establish agencies, and acquire a catalogue of native records (Gaisberg 1942:48; Gronow 1981:251). Like other Asian countries, Victor and Columbia dominated the Korean music industry until the early 1930s. However, it was Okeh records that boosted the recording production of the Korean popular songs by cutting the price of the records. What follows examines the context in which the early Korean popular songs, including *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* were formulated.

1. Modernization: Late Nineteenth Century—Before the Colony

Peter Manuel pointed out the key roles of the urban bourgeoisie in the rise of world popular music (2001:157-58). Korean popular music emerged in a similar context. In the late nineteenth century, as the feudal structure of the *Lee* Dynasty transformed to a modern social and economic structure, an urban bourgeoisie emerged. In this process, the Korean social transformation in the late nineteenth century was not driven only by economic changes, but also by ideological shifts.

a. The Ideological Shifts

The shifts of consciousness in the late nineteenth century were foreseen in the

scholarly movement of the *Sirhak* (Practical Learning), which began in the early seventeenth century (Young Ick Lew 1990:188). According to historian Young Ick Lew, there were some fundamental theoretical and methodological changes of the intellectual movement in the nineteenth century. Firstly, the scholars began to utilize the practical and systematic approaches in their researches. For instance, historians Yi Kyu-gyŏng and Kim Chŏng-hŭi (1786-1856) were concerned about the empirical verification. In particular, Kim adopted the approach of the Ch'ing empirical school and is known for his deeply learned studies of historical inscriptions (ibid.). The second difference of the scholars in the nineteenth century was that a number of them came from among the fallen *yangban* (aristocrat) and from the *chungin* (middle people). During the *Lee* Dynasty, the scholarly activities belonged to the high culture, which solidified the strictly divided social and cultural practices. However, the works by non-aristocrats contained points of view that reflected the interests of the social class of their origin, which was the lower-class culture (ibid. 189). It was the scholars from the lower classes who began to advocate reformation and rationalization of government administration and abolishment of the discriminatory treatment against them. Thus, the social transformation was motivated by the scholarly practices on the consciousness and philosophical level.

b. Urban Bourgeoisie

Another force for the dramatic social and cultural transformation in Korea in

the late nineteenth century was the economy. Moving towards the end of the feudal society, *Lee* Dynasty faced the blurred social strata that resulted into a new social class—urban bourgeoisie. As the economy developed, lower class people acquired the capitals afterwards. Therefore, the lower classes gained economic power, and could afford high culture. In doing so, there were two technological forces leading to the economic transformation, which began in the seventeenth century: agricultural technology and specialized class of merchants (ibid.).

The agricultural technology that eventually brought the new social strata in the late *Lee* Dynasty consisted of two systematic changes: the technique of transplanting rice seedlings and commercial production of specialized crops, such as ginseng, tobacco and cotton. The following is the examination provided in the book *Korea Old and New A History*:

> In this way (agricultural development) a new class of commoner-landlords emerged, composed of peasant-farmers. They were able to accumulate wealth through the increased production that resulted from advances in agricultural technology and improvements in methods of farm management, and through the growth of farm production for the commercial market (Eckert 1990:161).

Farming not only served their subsisting purposes, but also brought profits, which eventually led to the development of the commercial market, as the agricultural economy developed. Another effect of the development was the division of the classes on the basis of labor, not the inherent social class, even though the hierarchal social strata were kept as a social norm. The symptoms

shown in the disturbance of the social strata in the seventeenth century eventually helped produce an urban bourgeois who would take the main role in the rise of the Korean popular music in the early twentieth century.

Meanwhile, there was another symptom of the class disturbance that was driven by the emergence of the specialized merchant class in the seventeenth century of *Lee* Dynasty (ibid. 161). The specialized class of merchants was called *kongin* (tribute men),[35] who inherently belonged to the middle class. The following is the process of expanding their economic activities:

> With the elimination of local tribute payments following enactment of the Uniform Land Tax Law, goods required by the government came to b e procured through purchasing agents known as *kongin*. In the process the *kongin* gradually accumulated capital and so, although they continued to act as agents of the government, their economic function was far broader. They did business with the Six Licensed Stores in Seoul and with the inclined market and coastal trade brokers, and they also dealt directly with the craftsmen who produced the goods….At the same time, the activities of private merchants were becoming more evident in Seoul and throughout the country. For example, the river merchants of Seoul marketed their grain, salt, and fish all along the reaches of the Han River in *kyŏnggi* and Chungch'ong provinces (ibid:161).

By means of tax reformation and the emerging merchant classes, the feudal society was directed towards the commercial/capital society. The dramatic social and economic transformation was revealed in the census of Seoul. In the early

[35] Kongin is the government-designated merchants who served as purchasing agents for government requirement.

period of the *Lee* Dynasty, the population of Seoul was approximately 200,000, 10% aristocrats, 15% *sangmin* (freeman commoner class), 3.8% officers, and 50% slaves (Chŏng Jae-Chŏng 2003:144). However, as the commercial market became a big part of the entire economy, the population of Seoul in 1895 was composed of 34.2 % aristocrats, 2.3 % *chungin* (middle people), and 55.5% *sangmin*. The slaves, the majority of the population in the early *Lee* Dynasty, disappeared, and 27 % of the entire population was involved in commerce. Thus, the merchant class accumulated the capitals, and formulated a new power relation within the economic parameter.

c. The Impact of Protestantism

In the late nineteenth century, there was an institutional force to the social transformation, which was the modern school system; public schools and private missionary schools. The school, which belonged to an exclusive culture of the high class during the *Lee* dynasty, became accessible to the lower classes. In particular, the private schools founded by Protestant missionaries contributed to a dramatic social and cultural change that conflicted with the conventional social norms. The Protestantism was most warmly embraced by the non-*yangban* intellectual class and the business community, particularly in regions where the development of a capitalist economy was well underway, such as P'yongan province (Eckert 1990:249). In addition, the idea of Protestantism of equal human relations confronted with the conventional hierarchal social structure. Since so,

the conversion was led by the non-*yangban* intellectuals, then expanded to the *yangban* literati officials. In the end, the conversion to Christianity by many Korean people was connected to an act of penance for the failings of their traditional society that had led to the loss of Korea's nationhood (ibid.). Thus, the impact of Protestantism on the Korean social and cultural domain was driven by the dialectical development of capitalism, democracy, and colonialism.

d. The Rise of Popular Culture

As analyzed by Manuel, the new cultural product initiated by the urban bourgeoisie in the early modern era would be the intermediate one that synthesized high and the lower cultures, which was emulating the high culture in a simpler way (2001:157-58). In the early modern era in Korea, the intermediate cultural products included *p'ansori* (a dramatic narrative form for solo voice and drum), Chinese literature by members of the commoner class, and the subjective representation in paintings (Lew 1990:191).

Another musical and literary example of the popular culture was *chapka* (a mixture of different songs). As the social hierarchy in the late nineteenth century loosened up, one of the exclusive high cultures, *sijo,* evolved into a longer form with vernacular verses, which was called *sasŏl sijo* (long *sijo*). Eventually the longer form of *sijo* turned out to be the main body of *chapka*. The urban bourgeoisie synthesized high and the lower cultures, inventing an intermediate one. Here, the form and the text of *sijo* transformed into a longer song/poem with

lighter themes on a faster tempo (Gang 2002:253-55). According to the evolutionists (chapter one), the early Korean popular songs were developed from the intermediate song/literature style *chapka*.

In sum, the dramatic cultural transformation in the late nineteenth century was not only directed by the material forces such as the development of the commercial markets and the new economic power relations, but also the ideological shifts such as the indigenous empiricism and the Protestantism. During this process, the newly constructed social class, urban bourgeoisie, invented a new cultural production, so-called popular culture.

2. Colonial Westernization: 1910-1945

a. The Japanese Colony

The modernization of Korea could not be separable from its colonial westernization. Korea became a Japanese colony with Prime Minister Yi Wan-Yong's signing of the Treaty of Annexation on August 22 in 1910 and remained under Japanese control until August 15, 1945, when Korea gained its independence. The colonial experience directed Korean people to be affected by the Japanese rule, either directly or indirectly. According to historian Michael Robinson, there were four phases of the Japanese colony in Korea: dark period (1910-19), cultural policy reform (1919-31), forced assimilation period, mobilization, and war (1931-41), and the last period (1941-45) (Robinson

1990:254).

It is most necessary to examine the first phase of the Japanese colony, as it was the foundational stage for the emergence of Korean popular music. During the first decade of the Japanese colony called the "dark period," Japan repressed the indigenous political and cultural life of Korean people to an extreme degree (ibid. 260). By doing so, Japan attempted to solidify the foundation on which its rule rested by developing an educational system that would socialize Koreans to be good citizens of the Japanese Empire (ibid. 262). In consequence, moral education, the Japanization of Korean history and culture, and the spread of the Japanese language and values subtly eroded Korean cultural identity and confidence (ibid. 263). Traditional Korean musical culture was also affected by the colonial period. However, the result was more Westernization than Japanization, because the school songs *hakkyo ch'anggas* (Western songs for school) were, for the most part, based in Western musical idioms. The Japanese government promoted Westernization through the school system in Japan, and utilized the Japanese music textbook for the colonial education in Korea.

b. Westernization

King *Kojong* changed the name of the country *Chosŏn* to *Taehan-Jeguk* in October 1897. By doing so, his administration officially initiated the Westernization. According to historian Chŏng's analysis, the Korean term for the Western culture *yang* implied not only the Occident, but also the new and good

things (Chŏng 2003:147). The institutional support ignited the Westernization of Korean culture.

As pointed out by Arjun Appadurai, the floating cultural identity in the recent world has been driven by the mass media and convenient mobility (Appadurai 1990). In the case of Korea, the cultural flows, particularly on the international level, appeared alongside the colonial Westernization, following the founding of the modern school system by missionaries in the nineteenth century. While the educational system initially contributed to the new experience of Koreans, the development of communication helped the Koreans expand their new cultural production to the national level.

In the realm of transportation, cable cars were constructed in Seoul in 1899. This advanced individual mobility thus contributed to the implosion of barriers between the sexes and the classes. Finally, women and men could ride in the same cars in the early twentieth century. In addition, Japan began to construct communication facilities for the purpose of territorial expansion into the continent—China and Russia. For instance, with Japanese insistence, the *Taehan-Jeguk* administration constructed telegraph links between Seoul (the capital of Korea) and Pusan (the present second capital of Korea) in 1888. Afterwards, the Japanese Government-General proceeded to construct railroads, build harbors, and improve telegraph and telephonic communication in Korea.

Thus, Westernization was fueled by a nation-wide communication system, a

convenient transportation system, and an education system. In the end, these systems provided the infrastructure necessary for mass production of popular music, breaking down barriers between the hierarchically different cultures.

c. The Cultural Renaissance

Since the March First Independence Movement (March 1, 1919), Japan realized it needed to transform the extreme suppression policy to a more flexible one, which was called the cultural policy (Robinson 1990:286). In contrast to the previous dark years, this period is called that of cultural renaissance (ibid. 286). A number of newspapers and journals of the nationalist intellectuals emerged during those times.

Through intellectual and cultural activities, the nationalists realized that a strong nation-state must be based on such attributes as democratic institutions, a strong middle-class, developed capitalist economies, and widespread education on the model of the West (ibid. 289-90). This ideological standpoint of the nation-state supported the westernization of Koreans not only consciously, but also culturally. One of the resultant cultural productions was the development of Korean drama and cinema. As modern subjects/individuals, the new urban intellectuals created a distinctive, modern Korean culture, reflecting themselves against the Japanese colonial experiences. Thus, here too the urban intellectuals also participated in the production of the early Korean popular music.

3. Industrialization of Music

a. The Early Record Industry

The cylinder-type sound recording came to Korea in the late nineteenth century through the missionaries.[36] The commercial recording production of music in Korea was initiated in 1908, two decades later. The first recorded Korean music was a *chapka* song, "chŏkpyŏkka (song of chŏkpyŏk)," sung by one of the well-known male singers, Lee Tong-Baek,[37] and recorded by American Victor (Park 1992:165).

The record industry came to the Orient in the early twentieth century to open up new markets (Gaisberg 1942:48; Gronow 1981:251). Their initial interest was to sell gramophones, which was the hardware market. However, they had to record native music in order to appeal to the local customers. In doing so, the record companies did not only make numerous recordings of the main Oriental art music traditions, but also recorded acculturated songs with European instruments for the primarily urban record-buying public (Gronow 1981:274).

Simon Frith also analyzed the early music industry, pointing out its strategic shift from hardware manufacturing to the production of software:

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[36] It has been known that the first introduction of sound recording in Korea was the cylinder-type machine that a French priest presented to an officer of Pyŏngyang in 1880 (Park Ch'an-Ho 1992:165).

[37] As will be seen, there are different opinions regarding the first Korean recording. According to the Korean-Japanese music critic Park Ch'an-Ho, the Lee Tong-Baek's recording by the Victor was the first one. According to a Korean records specialist Bae Yon-Hyong, Han In-O and Choi Hong-Mae's recording in Japan by the Columbia was the first one. The latter record also contained the *chapka* "Yangsan-do" (Bae Yon-Hyong 1995:39).

> It is useful at this point to make the usual industry distinction between hardware and software: hardware is the equipment, the furniture, the 'permanent' capital of home entertainment; software is what the equipment play—particular records and tapes. The invention, manufacture and selling of hardware must, obviously, precede the manufacture and selling of software. What normally happens, then, is that hardware companies get involved in software production simply in order to have something on which to demonstrate their equipment (Frith 1988:14-5).

The phonograph was called *yusŏnggi* (machine with sound), while the record disc was named *sorip'an* (sounding plate) in Korea (Park 1002:165). The market of phonographs and records targeted the urban bourgeoisie who could afford their relatively expensive prices, as seen earlier in the United States. The difference could be the invented local cultural production, derived from the Western machines. For instance, some merchants utilized phonographs for commercial use, constructing temporary theatres with tents. They sold admission tickets to the tents in which the pre-recorded sounds were replayed with the phonographs. The places for the temporary theatres were mostly in the urban areas (ibid.). As seen in the other countries of the Orient, two big recording companies dominated the entire recording market of Korea in the 1920s, Columbia and Victor, although the scale of the market was extremely timid.[38]

[38] In 1913, when the cheapest ten-inch records retailed for $0.60, total U.S. exports of records and gramophones to Asia amounted to only $112,000. Due to the war, the record sales did not start to grow until the mid-1920s. The record business reached a peak in 1929, and then decreased dramatically (Gronow 1981).

The two big companies initiated their recording production with traditional Korean music such as *aak* (court music), *p'ansori* (one-man singing drama), and *chapka* (mixture of different songs). The companies then recorded the acculturated popular music called *yuhaengga* (music in fashion) in the 1930s in order to satisfy the urban customers' tastes. The transition of the recording repertories apparently revealed a shift in the musical streams of Korea, from traditional Korean music to Korean popular music in the 1930s. Since Victor and Columbia dominated the early music industry in Korea, it is necessary to examine their recording activities in what follows.

b. Victor

As the first company that recorded traditional Korean music, the Victor Talking Machine Company was deeply involved in the establishment of the music industry in Korea. During the colonial period, there were two different Victor companies in Korea: American Victor and Japanese Victor, as it were. American Victor was run by the mother company in the United States, and operated by the Japanese agents. The Japanese agent *nipponohong* executed the business for American Victor in the late nineteenth century. Since American Victor focused on selling phonographs in Korea, they stopped recording Korean music for seventeen years until 1928 (Pae Yŏn-Hyŏng 1994:285-6). American Victor established a Japanese subsidiary, Nippon Victor Chikuonki in the 1920s. However, the

Japanese company was nationalized in 1936 (ibid.).[39]

The first recording in 1928 was a piece of *aak*, performed in Seoul. Additionally, Japanese Victor recorded different types of traditional Korean music, including *p'ansori* and *chapka*. However, their recordings were made rather to help the sale of gramophones, rather than to sell the records themselves. The record industry became competitive in the late 1930s after the small recording company Okeh reduced the price of their records (ibid. 295).

c. Columbia

In the early years, Columbia Phonograph Company also went through two different business phases in Korea, as seen with Victor: American Columbia and Japanese Columbia. Initially, American Columbia invited two Korean professional singers—Han In-O and Ch'oe Mae-Hong (a female entertainer *kisaeng*)—to Japan for recordings (Pae1995:39). American Columbia recorded traditional Korean music in Japan, and sent the master recordings to the United States for the manufacturing of the records. Then, the finished records were shipped back, and released in Korea on March, 1907 (ibid.).[40]

However, it was Japanese Columbia that seriously began the recording business in Korea. Japanese Columbia was established with American capitals in

[39] Another difference was the technique of the recordings. Japanese Victor used the electronic recording technique (Bae 1994:288)

[40] In the early 1900s, the master recordings of the Orient were sent back to Europe or America to be processed, and the finished records shipped to local agents along with gramophones manufactured by the same company (Gronow 1981:251).

1928.[41] The company began its business as a local agent, and extended its independent role to the sound recordings. It even held a singing contest called "Myŏngch'ang Taehoe (Best Singer's Contest)" in Seoul in November 1928, in order to recruit singers for the recordings (ibid.). Quantitatively, Columbia recordings were more prolific than those of Victor by 50%, reaching almost 1,500 pieces of music (ibid.).

Meanwhile, Columbia released their records under the name "Regal" in Korea since the mid-1930s. Regal records were a popular version of Columbia records. The price of a Regal record was 0.80 Won, which was cheaper than that of an Okeh record, 1.00 Won. Before then, Okeh produced the cheapest records. The marketing strategy of Columbia company can be seen in what follows:

Label	Price	Years
Ilchuk Chosun Sorip'an	1.00 won	Sept. 1929—1932
Regal	0.80 won	July 1934—Aug.1939
Columbia C2001—	1.20 won	Oct. 1939—

Table 1. Prices of Columbia Records in Korea between 1929 and 1940s (Pae 1996:31)

[41] The company changed its name several times. At first, they used "Ilbon Chuggumki Sanghoi (Japanese Phonograph Company)" between 1929-30, then "Columbia Chuggumki Jusikhoisa (Columbia Phonograph Co.)" afterwards. Due to the uncomfortable relationships between Japan and America, the name once was changed without indicating the connection to the Columbia (Ibid.).

Columbia released a popular version of the records for 1.00 won a record in 1929. Then, stimulated by the big economic success of Okeh, Columbia once again cut down the price to 0.80 won in 1934 with a different label, “Regal,” which became one of the main record labels in Korea until 1939 when Columbia raised the price of the records, changing the label once again to Columbia. Thus, Columbia utilized both labels and pricing for their marketing strategy.

d. The Others

Considering that the two big companies focused on the hardware market, the following recording companies, such as Teihei and Okeh, geared their business toward the software productions. The records market reached the golden era in the 1930s, right after Okeh cut down the prices of the records (ibid.). Okeh has been considered as the only recording company that was run by a Korean, Lee Ch’ŏl. Additionally, Okeh was known as the first record company that owned the recording studio in Korea. Before then, Korean singers went to Japan for the recordings.

Even though the smaller recording companies were a step behind the two big companies in terms of business scale, their independent roles in the sound production of Korean music were magnificent in terms of the range of the repertories and sound qualities of the recordings.

e. Radio Transmission

The first broadcasting system in Korean was constructed by Japan in

November 1926, *Kyŏngsŏng* Broadcasting System. The first airing was conducted on February 16th, 1927. In the early period, the programs were in both Japanese and Korean languages with a ratio of 3:1 (Song 2001:14). Then, the programs in Korean language doubled months later, and in the end a few exclusive channels for Korean language were created in 1933. In consequence, the registered radios expanded from 1,440 in 1927 to 20,565 in the late 1932, then up to around 221,000 in the 1940s (Lee 1998:51).

Meanwhile, local broadcasting stations were constructed in *Pusan* and *P'yŏngyang* in 1935, and then a few more local stations opened in *Ch'ŏngjin*, *Hamhŭng* and *Iri* in 1939. Based upon the numbers of the registered radios and the expansion of the local broadcasting stations, the heavy effects of the radio transmissions onto the Korean popular music production must have begun in the late 1930s, as seen in the Lee's analysis (ibid.). Thus, the industrialization of music in Korea was initiated by the recording companies, such as Victor and Columbia, and then fueled with the growth of network radio.

II. The Formation of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*: The Late Nineteenth Century - 1945

The history of Korean popular music began with the translated version of Western or Japanese popular songs, called *yuhaeng ch'angga* (popular version of *ch'angga*). Then, the Koreans composed their own popular music, adopting the previously imported Western or Japanese popular song styles. The name for the

newly composed Korean popular songs was *yuhaengga* (music in fashion), which was later replaced with a new name, *taejung kayo* (mass popular song), without any particular differentiation. Meanwhile, the early Korean popular songs, once called either *yuhaengga* or *taejung kayo*, acquired another new name *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, differentiating them from the other recent Western-type popular songs, such as rock and pop.[42] In what follows, it is necessary to examine the early history of Korean popular songs, because most of them eventually evolved into the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Song Bang-Song identified three circumstantial forces that influenced the development of the modern Korean popular music production: construction of the modern theaters, recording productions, and broadcasting systems (Song 2001). The royal theatre *Wŏngaksa* and the private theaters such as *Kwang Mudae* and *Yŏnhŭngsa* were constructed in 1908, 1908, and 1908, respectively. The constructions of the modern theaters boosted the popular culture of the urban bourgeoisie. As such, recording production and the radio network led the unprecedented mass production of music in the 1930s.

1. *Ch'angga*: The First Korean Musical Product of the Westernization

According to Park Ch'an-Ho, the term *ch'angga* originated from the Japanese

[42] The Korean term *pop* indicates the pop song style that can be seen in the pop chart of the billboard.

shōka, which was the European-style songs mostly used for the school curriculum in Japan from the mid-1880s (Park 1992:25, Hughes 2002). However, the definition of the Korean *ch'angga* extended to a collective one that included any kind of Western song with Korean words, which was mainly sung between the late nineteenth century and the 1920s. The collective term *ch'angga* included *aeguk ch'angga* (patriotic version of *ch'angga*) and *yuhaeng ch'angga* (popular version of *ch'angga*). Reflecting on the wide thematic range of *ch'angga*, the Grove dictionary defined *ch'angga* as the Korean version of Western songs in the early period of the twentieth century.

a. *Aeguk Ch'angga*

At first, *ch'angga* was deeply associated with the missionaries in Korea. Due to this association, the initial definition of *ch'angga* was the Christian hymns in Korean language. However, the themes of the songs were not limited to Christianity. Instead, they focused on patriotism, which was particularly called *aeguk ch'angga* (patriotic *ch'angga*). Lew Young Ick analyzed the song style in what follows:

> So-called *ch'anggas*, songs of a new type sung to Western melodies, were immensely popular from around 1900. *Ch'angga* owed their beginning to the introduction of Protestant hymns, but they became songs of the whole people and were sung everywhere throughout Korea. Many *ch'angga* inspired love of country, glorifying independence and the new education and culture. Such *ch'anggas* were sung joyously by students and by independence fighters, to uplift their spirits (Lew 1990:253).

The production of *ch'angga* was fueled with the political demand for national independence. The nationalist intellectuals in the colonial period were anxious to produce the songs that could evoke patriotism from the Koreans. The representative publications of the early *ch'angga* were "Pot'ong Ch'anggajip (Compilation of Ordinary *Ch'angga*)" published by Kim In-Sik[43] in 1912 and "Kŭnhwa Ch'angga (*Ch'angga* published by *Kŭnhwa* publication) in 1921 (Park 1992:164-5). The two songbooks were published privately by the nationalist intellectuals.

b. *Hakkyo Ch'angga* (School Version of *Ch'angga*)

As to the institutional engagement in the Korean music productions during the colony, there were two institutions to be considered. The first institution was the professional music school for music majors, while the second one was the elementary school that educated the major population of the Koreans. Among others, the two institutions should be examined because the first one was the professional institution for the producers (the musicians), while the latter one was the grad school for the consumers (the listeners).

The first Korean music school for music majors was *Choyang Kurakpu* (Korean-Western Music School), established in 1909. The school consisted of two different divisions, which were *Chosŏnak* (Korean music) and Western music. In

[43] Kim In-Sik was one of the frontiers who introduced the Western art music into Korea. He used to be one of the first teachers at the first Western music school in Korea "Chosŏn Jŏngak Jŏnseupso (Art music school in Chosŏn) since 1913.

the Western division, they dealt not only with the Western art music, but also all kinds of *ch'angga*, in particular *aeguk ch'angga* (Park 1992:93). The school name was replaced by *Chosŏn Chŏngak Chŏnsŭpso* (Art Music School of *Chosŏn*) in 1913. A number of the early Korean popular musicians acquired their music education from there.

During the Japanese colony, the music curriculum of the elementary schools might be more important than the professional music school in terms of the quantitative effects of the institutions. According to Min Kyŏng-Ch'an, the music curriculum of elementary schools was conducted in Korea since August 28, 1906 (Min 2002:17). The name of the music curriculum was *ch'angga* itself, following the Japanese term of the music curriculum, *shōka*. Additionally, they also used the same textbook as in Japan. According to Min's analysis, the songs in the textbooks were made upon the Western musical idioms, rather than the traditional Japanese musical ones, as seen in what follows:

> All the songs in the first textbook were written in Japanese language. More than 90% of the songs were composed on the Major chords. As to the scale, more than 90% of the songs used *yonanuki* scales, rather than the traditional Japanese scales. Most of the songs were constructed on the Western art music forms, such as strophic forms (ibid. 20).

Min Kyŏng-Ch'an differentiated the *yonanuki* scale from the traditional Japanese ones, asserting that the Japanese colonial education was geared toward

the Westernization of the Korean musical culture. However, the Koreans' initial experience of Western musical idioms was mediated by the Japanese interpretation of them, which was the Japanese *shōka* made upon *yonanuki* scale. The *yonanuki* scale was a Japanese musical interpretation of the Western musical scales.

c. *Yuhaeng Ch'angga* (Popular Version of *Ch'angga*)

Meanwhile, Japan prohibited the patriotic version of *ch'angga* in Korea during the colony. The censorship produced a new trend in the development of *ch'angga*, which was *yuhaeng ch'angga*. Lee Yŏng-Mi pointed out that a different version of *ch'angga* became popular, separated from the previous patriotic or educational *ch'angga* since the 1910s (Lee 1999:42). The new version of *ch'angga* was about love, vanity of life, and it was more secular than the previous ones. Lee went on to assert that the popular version of *ch'angga* indicated the Westernization of music on the everyday life level.

The most well-known songs of the early *yuhaeng ch'angga* included "Kachusa (song of Katherine)" and "Changhanmongga (song of *Changhanmong*)." Both were Korean translations of Japanese popular songs. Albeit their problematic originalities, Lee Yŏng-Mi insisted that the recordings of the early *yuhaeng ch'angga* were the departure of the Korean popular music history, due to their immense popularity. The first huge hit song of *yuhaeng ch'angga* was "Saŭi Ch'anmi (Adoration of Death)" in 1926. Its melody came

from Ivanovich's "Blue Danube." The singer was soprano Yun Simdŏk, who acquired her Western music education in Japan.

Meanwhile, one of the most interesting aspects in the production of the early *yuhaeng ch'angga* was the performance practice. Firstly, most of the female singers were *kisaeng,* who were trained for traditional Korean music. In consequence, they performed the new songs with the traditional Korean performance practice. For instance, there were no harmonic or melodic musical instrumentations in the recordings. The traditional Korean percussions, such as *changgo* (hourglass-like drum) and *puk* (barrel drum), were used only for the rhythmic accompaniment. Supposedly, the singers and the accompanists did not follow the measure-basis rhythmic rendition in their performance. The singers prolonged the last note of each phrase as long as they wanted. Last but not least, the singers utilized the traditional Korean vocal techniques in the new music rendition. They used the heavy vocal inflections that had been the very musical trademark of traditional Korean songs. Even the soprano Yun Simdŏk who had a strong Western music background still used the Korean musical traditions in the recordings.

2. *Sin-Minyo*: The Continuance of the Traditional Korean Folksong

In the early years, since most of the female singers came from the professional entertainer class *kisaeng*, they were also devoted to recording the traditional

Korean folksongs called *minyo*. The male intellectuals' efforts to revive traditional Korean folksong also supported their development. However, the newly composed folksongs, called *sin-minyo*, could not be categorized as folksongs any more. *Sin-minyos* were composed and recorded by professional musicians, while the traditional folksong was anonymously and orally passed down. Based upon this analysis, the new folksongs should be viewed as belonging to the category of early Korean popular music.

Furthermore, the composers and the songwriters of those times also produced both *yuhanegga* and *sinminyo*, crossing over the musical differences. In consequence, both genres shared the same materials musically as well as textually. The representative big hits were "Taehan P'algyŏng" sung by Sŏnu Il-Sŏn, "Nŭngsu Bŏdŭl" by Wang Su-Bok, "Nodŭl Kangbyŏn" by Lee Ŭn-P'a. In the end, *sin-minyo* withered, giving way to the new popular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* around the end of the formative period of Korean popular music.

3. *Yuhaengga, Taejung Kayo*: The Rise of the Modern Korean Popular Music

a. The First *Yuhaengga* and the first *Taejung Kayo*

According to Lee Yŏng-Mi, *yuhaengga* has existed for so long that it could include *yuhaeng ch'angga* and *taejung kayo*, while *taejung kayo* was a new term that indicated Korean popular songs written by the Koreans. However, in reality, Korean popular discourse included the two different terms with the same

meanings—Korean popular songs—without any critical differences, as seen in the previous chapter (chapter two).

The first European-style Korean popular song composed by a Korean songwriter/composer was "Nakhwa Yusu (Falling Flowers and Flowing River)." The song was written and composed by the urban bourgeoisie Kim Yŏng-Hwan[44] in 1927. The lyrics described the lonesome life of a *kisaeng*, and the song was also known as "Kangnamdal (Moon of the south of a river)."

Meanwhile, Lee Yŏng-Mi asserted that "Hwangsŏngŭi Jŏk (Empty Space of the Yellow Old Castle) in 1932 was the first *taejung kayo*,[45] pointing out that the previous songs, including "Nakhwa Yusu," were not quite separated from the children songs or the traditional Korean-style songs (Lee 1999:59). One of the differences that Lee focused on was that "Hwangsŏngŭi Jŏk" began to use the authentic *yonanuki* minor scale that eventually became the musical mark of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (ibid.). Lee also mentioned that the Korean musical aspect of the early popular songs was the triple rhythm, considering that the other *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs were composed on the duple rhythm (ibid.). In sum, the so-called first *taejung kayo* song "Hwangsŏngŭi Jŏk" synthesized the Western, Japanese and traditional Korean musical elements.

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[44] Kim Yŏng-Hwan was born in a lower class with a mother of *kisaeng* profession. He was not only a songwriter, but also one of the most famous movie talkers for the silent movies. He was also engaged in the film scripts.

[45] It is very tricky to credit a particular song with the first Korean popular song. As far as this dissertation is concerned, this song was one of the first *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs.

b. A Study of the Term Yuhaengga

One of the first Korean ethnomusicologists, Song Bang-Song, traced back to the origin of the term *yuhaengga* by examining the labels produced by the big five recording companies in the 1930s, such as Columbia, Victor, Polydor, Okeh, and Taihei. Underlying this research, he assumed that the Korean popular music was formulated in the 1930s alongside the recording production. What follows is one of the tables by Song that describes how many different terms the early recording companies utilized in Korea:

	Columbia	Victor	Polydor	Okeh	Taihei
Kayo			o		o
Kayogok	o		o	o	o
Yuhaengga	o	o	o	o	o
Yuhaeng kayo	o				
Yuhaenggok	o		o		
Yuhaeng manyo	o				
Yuhaeng mangok	o				
Yuhaeng sogok	o	o	o	o	
Yuhaeng chapka	o				
Yuhaeng ch'angga	o	o			
total	9	3	5	3	3

Table 2. Categories of Korean popular music used in the major labels in the 1930s (Song 2000:9)

Each label used nine different terms for the early Korean popular songs.

However, there was a tendency to use *yuhaengga* more often than the others, according to Songs' analysis. Besides, Song provided two more reasons for categorizing the early Korean popular songs with the term *yuhaengga*. Firstly, *yuhaengga* was the only term used by all the five labels. Secondly, *yuhaengga* was the one that lasted until the present times, while the others died away. In sum, Song concluded that *yuhaengga* was the collective term that included all kinds of Western-style Korean popular songs produced in the 1930s.

c. The Social Strata of the Musicians

As examined, the new social class in the early modern period—the urban intellectuals—was deeply involved in the new cultural trend of Western-style popular music. For instance, most of the male songwriters of those times were urban intellectuals who received higher and modern educations, whatever classes they belonged to. Song Bang-Song analyzed the educational and class backgrounds of those who led the development of early Korean popular music, classifying them as composers, songwriters and singers (Song 2001).

Song analyzed 1,304 pieces of the popular songs recorded in the 1930s. Among others, Lee Ha-Yun (1906-1974), Park Yŏng-Ho (1911-1953) and Yu Do-Soon (1904-1938) wrote the majority of the early lyrics, which amounted to 227 songs (ibid.). Lee Ha-Yun and Park Yŏng-Ho acquired their college education in Japan, which was a Korean cultural practice of the privileged bourgeoisie in the early twentieth century. All of them engaged with new modern literature and

journalism, while working for major recording companies, such as Columbia, Sieron and Columbia, respectively. They were the so-called urban bourgeoisie who led the early Westernization of Korean culture.

Regarding the composers of *yuhaengga*, Song observed that of all the songs produced in the 1930s, forty songwriters were Koreans and nine were Japanese (ibid.).[46] As seen in the songwriters' backgrounds, the composers also had gotten higher educations in Western music. Kim Chun-Yŏng (1908-1961), one of the prolific composers, was a pianist who also studied composition in Japan. Among the composers who acquired their higher music education in Western music are Lee Chae-Ho (1914-1960), Son Mok-In (1913-), Lee Myŏn-Sang (1908-1989), and others.

Another musical influence on early Korean popular music came from the military band that was established by Franz Eckert in 1900. Eckert was an oboist and composer who composed one of the first Korean national anthems, which was based in one of the traditional Korean pentatonic scales (Park 1992:91-2). As the Korean military was dismissed, the military band was transformed with a new name, *Iwangjik Yangaktae,* in 1907. The band was composed of around 45 members. The main repertories of the band were Western marching songs. Since the lead Eckert passed away, the band dismantled. In the end, the members

[46] As explained, Song Bang-Song's research was done on the basis of the songs recorded by the five labels in the 1930s, such as the Columbia, the Victor, the Polydor, the Okeh and the Taihei.

became music teachers or movies talkers who played key roles in the development of early Korean popular music (ibid.).

Meanwhile, it is necessary to differentiate the singers in terms of their gender. While there were no female composers or songwriters, there were a number of female singers involved in the early production of Korean popular music. ccording to Song's analysis, there were two categories in the female singers' backgrounds: the first category was the professional female singer who was a *kisaeng*; the second one consisted of women who made their debut through song contests or as actresses of the theater or cinema.

In the later period of King Kojong (1864-1907), the first association for the *kisaeng* called "Tadong Chohap (Tea Village Association)" was established, which was followed by the second association titled "Kwanggyo Chohap (ibid)." The number of their association members reached almost 300 and 400, respectively. The members acquired their education in music and literature through the associations to which they belonged. Even though they belonged to the lower classes in the society, *kisaengs* were respected for their artistic accomplishment.

During the colony, the associations were replaced with the new names of "Chosŏn Kwŏnbŏn," and "Hansŏng Kwŏnbŏn" respectively, following the Japanese system. They were not the only ones, but these had excellent reputations for their high artistic quality abd large memberships. A significant number of early popular female singers came from such associations.

The early *kisaeng* sang traditional Korean folksongs, such as *minyo* and *chapka*, then moved to the Western-style popular music called *yuhaengga*. Among representative *kisaeng* singers were Wang Su-Bok (1917-?), Lee Ŭn-P'a and Sŏnu Il-Sŏn. According to Park Ch'an-Ho, there was a song contest for the *kisaengs* in the late 1930s. For instance, there was a performance contest titled "P'yŏngyang Kisaeng Kyŏngyŏn (*Kisaeng* contest in *P'yŏngyang*)" that took place from March 19th to 21st in 1937. The contest consisted of dancing and singing, in particular *kyŏngki chapka* (ibid.).

Meanwhile, the early female singers also included theater actresses and *sinjins* (fledgling singers) who passed the contest or audition. Their differences from the *kisaeng* singers were in the performance style. They used more Western vocal techniques with the repertories of the Western style popular songs than the *kisaeng* singers did, even though they both eventually became interchangeable. The representative singers were Kang Nam-Hyang, Lee Aerisu, Jŏn Ok and Hwang Kŭm-Sim.

As for the male singers, there were two categories: 1) the highly educated intellectuals and 2) *sinjins,* who made their debut through song contests or recording company auditions. The examples of the first category were Ch'ae Kyu-Yŏp (1906-1949) and Im Hŏn-Ik and Kim Yong-Hwan (1912-1949), while the singers of the second category were Ko Pok-Su (1911-1972) and Nam In-Su (1918-1962). Thus, unlike the songwriters and composers, the singers, either

female or male, came from diverse social strata. Eventually, the highly educated intellectuals left the popular music scene in Korea as art music and popular music were hierarchically divided.

4. *T'ŭrot'ŭ*: The First Modern Korean Popular Song Style

As seen in the previous chapter (chapter two), this ethnographic study revealed that different age groups used different names for the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For the younger age groups, all kinds of old songs could be called *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, while the middle-aged group differentiated *t'ŭrot'ŭ* from the more Westernized song styles, considering *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as the traditionalized popular song style. Meanwhile, the group aged 60s-80s were not familiar with the differentiation between *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *yuhaengga*.

With this regard, a Korean literature scholar, Cho Kyu-Il, suggested that the early *yuhaengga* was recently replaced with new terms, such as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *ppongtchak*, differentiated from the more westernized popular song styles, like pop (Western popular songs) and rock (2001:265). In other words, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was different from the previous traditional folksongs, and at the same time different from the later ones, like rock or pop. What follows interrogates the musical characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the formative phase.

a. Musical Structure

Lee Yŏng-Mi summarized that the musical characteristic of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

included the Westernized Japanese scales *yonanuki*, in particular its minor type (*ra-ti-do-mi-fa*), and the duple rhythm (Lee 1998:59). Regarding the modal structure, a popular musicologist, Shin Hye-Seung, demonstrated that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs produced before 1945 were based upon three-note motives (Shin 2001:295). According to Sin, the most popular modal structures are descending the trichord motive (*mi)-do-ti-la* and an ascending melodic with the pentatonic scale *ra-ti-do-mi-fa* (ibid.). Basically, Shin's analysis confirmed Lee's assertion that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was constructed upon the Japanese pentatonic minor scale. Meanwhile, regarding the major scales, there are no distinctive differences between the Japanese *yonanuki* major scale (*do-re-mi-sol-la*) and the traditional Korean pentatonic scales of the *Kyŏnggi* province (*do-re-mi-sol-la*).

Thus, the analysis of the modal structures of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs based upon the Japanese pentatonic scales dominated the indigenous study of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in South Korea. However, there have been a few responses against the perspectives recently, which were geared towards the study of performance practices, asserting that the modal structure cannot explain the details of the particular popular song tradition.

b. Performance Practices

As mentioned by a traditional Korean singer, Cho Sun-Ja, the early female performers of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* were mostly the traditional female entertainers, kisaengs. Consequently, kisaengs utilized their traditional vocalization for the newly

composed popular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Thus, the female singers of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* used nasal voices with lots of inflections and vibrations, which had been the trademarks of the traditional Korean singing performance. The female singers also performed added notes between two distant notes, because the songs were made of only a couple of notes, as in the traditional Korean musical performance. As pointed by Cho, the way singers performed the added notes was also within the Korean musical tradition (Nanŭn Sesangŭl Noraehaetta February 19, 2003). Lower tones are sung with very wide vibrato, while the upper tones are preceded by an upper appoggiatura sliding downward, called "breaking voice." The vocal performance practice eventually evolved into the very trademark of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

c. Lyrics

The 1930s was called the "Golden Period" of *taejung kayo*, according to the prominent songwriters and composers Kang Sa-Rang, Pan Ya-wŏl and Park Si-Ch'un (Kang, Pan and Park 1977:23).[47] Considering that the concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was not differentiated from *taejung kayo*, nor from *yuhaengga* up until the 1980s, the Golden period of *taejung kayo* implies the Golden period of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

There was a literature research in 1999 that analyzed the themes of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

[47] This book is a songbook compiling the representative songs that produced since 1920s. The book was a special songbook celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Korean popular music history. This book used the terminology *yuhaengga* and *taejung kayo*, instead of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.* However, since the early popular songs belonged to the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* based upon the definition in this dissertation, the Golden period of *yuhaengga* meant the Golden period of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

songs produced between the 1930s and the early 1940s.[48] The research examined 437 songs, among which 148 songs were about love, particularly tragic love; 71 songs described nostalgia; 201 songs sang about sadness, hopelessness and agony (Cho Kyu-Il 2001:271). In other words, the main themes of the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* were sad stories about love and life. The thematic differences from the previous folksongs were the personal emotions of love and life, rather than the collective descriptions of nature, such as the river, the mountain, the four seasons and so forth. The personal expression of love and life may symbolize the concept of modern individuality.

[48] Again, the research used the term *yuhaengga* instead of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, but implied the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Conclusion

The song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was formulated during the Japanese colony and dominated early Korean popular song production up until the early 1960s, in which *mi-8-gun* musicians became popular among the Korean public through TV shows. The early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* mostly represented the early Korean popular music scene, before the Korean popular music scene became diversified and more Westernized due to the new Western-style popular songs' popularity in the 1960s. Chapter three examines the formative period of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which was between the late nineteenth century and 1945. In doing so, it was necessary to interrogate the socio-political and ideological shifts as well as the musical transformation during those times.

The dramatic social changes began in the late nineteenth century, such as the modernization and the rise of popular culture. Then, the Korean society experienced the colonial westernization during the Japanese occupation between 1910 and 1945. During this period, the multinational record industry entered Korea by way of the Japanese agents who came to sell phonographs and records. Like the other Asian countries, Victor and Columbia dominated the Korean music industry until the early 1930s. However, it was Okeh records that boosted the recording production of the Korean popular songs by cutting down the price of the records.

As to the musical analysis, the history of Korean popular music began with the translated version of the Western or Japanese popular songs, called *yuhaeng ch'angga* (popular version of *ch'angga*). Then, the Koreans composed their own popular music, adopting the previously imported Western or Japanese popular song styles. The term for the newly composed Korean popular songs was *yuhaengga* (music in fashion), which was later replaced with a new term, *taejung kayo* (mass popular song), without any particular differentiations. Meanwhile, the early Korean popular songs, once called either *yuhaengga* or *taejung kayo,* acquired another new name, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, differentiating them from the other recent Western-type popular songs, such as rock and pop.

Chapter Four: The Maturation of T'ŭrot'ŭ

(1945-the 1970s)

T'ŭrot'ŭ was formulated during the Japanese colony as a synthesis of the Western, Japanese and Korean musical traditions, and then its survival was threatened by the socio-political circumstance as well as the economic decline after the Japanese colony and the Korean Civil War. Firstly, the economic slump caused by the war did not help the development of music production in Korea. In addition, the dictatorships in South Korea began to censor popular music on the basis of four criteria: anything undermining the national security, indiscrete imitation of foreign songs, defeatist/negative themes and decadent/lascivious expressions. In particular, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was considered to be associated with the first, the second, and the third items of the criteria. Underlying the censorship of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* anti-Japanese sensibilities were also utilized by the South Korean government to degrade the particular song style. By doing so, the South Korean dictatorships tried to legitimize their regime and invent a new Korean identity. However hard was its survival, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* eventually developed to be the main Korean popular song style in the 1960s and 70s. In this chapter, I focus on the period between 1945 and the 1970s, dealing with it as the maturation era of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

I. Political Culture: 1945-the 1970s

The period between 1945 and the 1970s was one of the most dynamic times throughout the South Korean history in terms of political transformation. Among others, the governmental censorship regarding popular music in 1960s and 70s could represent the intense relationships between popular music and the South Korean politics. The censorships were based on the metaphor of popular music as a social means of political agenda, which had been one of the conventional values of music in the East Asian traditions. The censors operated by attaching new connotations to the existing traditional values of music. Meanwhile, this maturation period was fueled by the revolutionary technology related to popular music.

1. Inventing a New South-Korean Identity under the Dictatorships

a. The First Administration and the First Dictatorship

After independence, Korea went through political commotions. The opportunist dictator Rhee Syngman held the first administration, speculating on people who might or might not help him maintain his power: “they, as well as the opposition ‘the Democratic Party’ drew their key membership from essentially the same pool of landowners, businessmen, bureaucrats, and professionals who had formed the core of the late colonial social elite and who had never had shown much inclination or ability to develop genuine grass-roots political support and

organization" (Eckert 1990:352). The administration was corrupted to the extent that his party, called the Liberal Party (established in 1951), resorted to blatant, wholesale fraud either to win the election, or to amend/pass the constitutions (Eckert ibid.).

In addition, there were so many suspicious incidents that occurred in each presidential election, such as the rivals' sudden deaths right before the election days (Eckert ibid.). For instance, Rhee's main presidential opponent Sin Ik-hŭi suffered a fatal heart attack right after the local campaign in *honam* province (the southwestern area of South Korea), which was also a week before the election in 1956.

The public discourses regarding the suspicious incident were revealed in an episode related to a popular song. There happened to be a song titled "Pinaerinŭn Honamsŏn (Raining Honam railroad) at that time, which was written by Son Ro-Won, composed by Park Si-Ch'un, and sung by Son-In-Ho. The song was a simple lamentation of a lover's departure. However, the song had to get through governmental surveillance simply because the song title mentioned the same place where the presidential rival died (Yun 1984:113). Even though it was not legally banned at the end, the government repeatedly interrogated the composer, the songwriter and even the singer (ibid.).

Another musical example was related to the other presidential candidate Cho Pyŏng-Ok's sudden death on February 15th in 1960. The song was titled "Yujŏng

Ch'ŏnri (A Long Way with Love)," written by Pan Ya-Wŏl, composed by Kim Pu-Hae, and sung by Park Chae-Hong. The incident began with a newspaper article saying that high school students sang the song with different lyrics, explicitly lamenting the presidential candidate's death. After that article, the government searched the middle and high school students' pockets thoroughly all over the country (ibid.). Thus, the first tyranny in South Korea revealed their vulnerabilities.

b. The First Liberal Force: 4.19. 1960

As the first administration got severely corrupted, the urban intellectuals rose up against the government on April 19th 1960. As seen in the following, Eckert examined how the urban intellectuals got empowered, whose actions eventually led to the resignation of the first dictator Rhee on April 26th of the same year:

> Between 1945 and 1960 the proportion of South Koreans living in cities of 50,000 or more had nearly doubled (to almost 30%), and urbanization had been both stimulated and accompanied by post-colonial and postwar booms in education…The literacy rate more than tripled in the fifteen years after liberation, and by 1960 over 70% of the population could read and write… At the center of this new urban discontent were South Korea's college and university students… Between 1948 and 1960 the number of institutions of higher education had doubled and their enrollments had increased by a factor of twelve. As many as sixty percent of those graduating, however, were finding it difficult or impossible to obtain employment, and even those who did often wound up taking jobs they regarded as unsuitable or unsatisfactory… (Eckert 1990:353-4).

The urban intellectual's yearning for democracy was fueled by the working classes' suffering. Thus, the *Sa Il-Gu* (April 19th movement) started as a student's

antigovernment demonstration, evolving into a nation-wide democratic movement. In the end, the movement engendered a new administration by the Democratic Party, which again went through many problems, such as the factionalism inside the Party and its incompetence to execute democracy, among others. Nevertheless, it was the new military force that overthrew the Second Republic, which eventually occupied the South Korean government for nearly two decades (Eckert, ibid.).

The national event, *Sa Il-Gu*, had enormous popular support, to the extent that the top popular singer Nam In-Su sang about it. The song was "Sawŏlŭi Kitpal (Flag of April)," composed by Park Si-Ch'un, written by Pan Ya-Wŏl in the very year 1960. Reflecting on South Korean music history, a conventional popular singer's engagement in a particular political event was an extraordinary cultural production.

c. One Man Era: *Park Chung Hee Era*

The Second Republic was overthrown by a military major general, Park Chung Hee, on June 29th in 1961. The new president Park Chung-Hee tried to perform the alleged "Korean style democracy" which was basically an authoritarian system (ibid.). He geared his administration toward the efficient government for a rapid economic development, instead of a democratic society. The principal missions of the administration were strengthening anticommunism,

rooting out corruption, and laying the foundation for a self-reliant national economy (ibid.).

President Park eventually transformed the presidency into a legal dictatorship, formulating the new *Yusin* Constitution (Revitalizing reforms) in November 1972. There were a number of forces supporting Park's regime, such as the national police, KCIA (the Korean Central Intelligent Agency), and so forth. Besides, the increasing economic prosperity made the Koreans tolerate the dictatorship (ibid.).

Meanwhile, nationalism played a key role in Park's regime. As seen in the argument regarding the origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (chapter one), nationalism was not only involved in the legislative domain, but also engaged in the definition of popular culture. In other words, nationalism served as an ideological means for the true Korean cultural production. Surely, nationalism was the synthesis of anticommunism, Confucianism, and anti-Japanese sensibilities. Park's regime utilized the complicated morals of the South Koreans for the purpose of legitimizing his administration.

Thus, most of the South Koreans at first seemed satisfied with the rapid economic growth, but there were serious casualties of the economic development, one of which was real democracy. The tyrannical rulers incessantly tried to legitimize their unlawful regime. South Korean popular culture was particularly victimized during the dictatorship. In doing so, the administration established censorship committees in order to manipulate popular cultural production for

political reasons, considering popular culture as a symbolic carrier of social criticism.

2. Political Meaning of Music

a. Governmental Censorship

There were two governmental committees for the censorship of popular songs: Han'guk kongyŏn yulli wiwŏnhoe (Korean performance ethics committee) and Pangsong simŭi wiwŏnhoe (Broadcasting consultation committee). The former was established in May 1976, following the predecessor Han'guk munhwa yesul yulli wiwŏnhoe (Korean Culture-Art ethics committee), which was established in January 1966. The mission of the committees was censoring inappropriate songs, reflecting on Korean traditional ethics/morals and the national law and order of those times (Yun Chae-Gŏl[49] 1984:107). Underlying the censorship was an ancient Korean metaphor that considered music as a socially and politically powerful symbol.

The difference between the two committees was that the former (Korean performance ethics committee) censored music before the recording, while the latter (Broadcasting consultation committee) examined the recorded song. According to an article written by a culture critic, Yun Chae-Gŏl, the former

[49] Yun chae Gŏl is a poet and culture critics. According to the article, his viewpoints of the censorship were conventional, standing for the governmental censorship.

committee banned 1,269 songs (382 Korean songs and 887 foreign songs), while the banned songs by the latter were 1,868 (834 Korean songs and 1,034 foreign songs) up until April 23rd 1984.

It is obvious that the Korean government was deeply involved in the censorship. One of the typical incidents implying the political connections occurred on May 13th 1975, which was ignited by the 9th emergency presidential decree (che 9-ho Taet'ongnyŏng kin'gŭp choch'i). According to the decree, the demoralization of popular culture could strongly influence national security (ibid.). The Korean government ordered the committees to censor any kinds of songs, either foreign or domestic ones of the times, and even included the old popular songs that were produced at least a decade ago. Any song that could conflict with national security was banned. As a result, 160 more Korean songs were banned.

In the same article, Yun addressed specific ethics in connection with Korean national security such as vulgarity, anguish, demoralization, obscenity, plagiarism, and the Japanese aspects. Particularly, the vulgarity, the anguish and the Japanese aspects became the legitimate weapons to tear out the blossom of t'ŭrot'ŭ from the 1960s through the 1970s. For instance, the South Korean government banned one of the huge hit t'ŭrot'ŭ songs "Tongbaek Agassi (The Camellia Girl)" sung by the queen of t'ŭrot'ŭ Lee Mi-Ja in 1965. The reason for the incident was the Japanese musical aspects of the song. In other words, the military tyranny of those times utilized the Korean's uncomfortable feelings against the Japanese colony in

order to legitimize its administration.

Meanwhile, the initial governmental censorship dated back to the Japanese colony in the 1920s through the 40s.[50] One example was "Pom Norae (Spring Song)" written by Kim Sŏ-Jŏng,[51] and sung by Ch'ae Kyu-Yŏp in 1930. The reasons for the ban were that the song lyrics could evoke the hope for independence, and at the same time provoke a collective movement for independence (ibid.). The next example was "Hwangsŏngŭi Jŏk," which was alleged to be the first Korean popular song and the first *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song. The song also was banned simply because it got too much success among the Koreans, becoming the so-called *Chosŏnŭi Serenade* (Korean serenade). Thus, the vulnerable administrations, such as the Japanese colony and the military tyranny, were too concerned about the socio-political power of popular songs.

b. Music as an Ideological Carrier

For sure, some songs were intended to carry ideological messages, while other songs happened to be attached to political events for any particular reason. As a matter of fact, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has become, either musically or circumstantially, associated with conventional Korean mores, losing its power to serve as a social

[50] Surely, music has been commonly interpreted as a powerful symbol that can serve as a socio-political means in East Asian countries since the ancient periods. In addition, the early South Korean administrations were influenced by the Japanese colonial systems. Particularly, the Japanese colony banned the American songs during the War in the 1940s, because America was the enemy of Japan in the World War II. Meanwhile, the Japanese colony promoted the Italian and the German songs, simply because they were the allies in the War (Yun, Ibid.).

[51] He was the same person with Kim Yŏng-Hwan who composed and wrote the first European-style Korean popular song.

commentary, as it has been more standardized. The social commentaries are mostly found in the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs.

One example can be "Mulbanga donŭn naeryŏk (A story of a water mill)," written by Pan Ya-Wŏl, composed by Kim Pu-Hae, and sung by Park Chae-Hong in the 1950s. The first administration after the Korean Civil War, called *Chayudang* (The Liberal Party), detected anarchism in the song. According to the governmental interpretation, the song was on the side of anarchism (ibid.). However, the song was not banned, even though it was under surveillance.

The second example was "Sawŏlŭi Kitpal (April Flag)," written by Pan Ya-Wŏl, composed by Park Si-Ch'un, and sung by one of the Kings of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Nam In-Su in 1960. The song praised the students' democratic movement, which occurred on April 19th 1960. The song has often been addressed as one of the few *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs that expressed social commentary.[52]

3. Revolutionary Technology: Radio, LP, Television, and *Mi-8 Gun Show* (Korean-Based American Military Camp Show)

The first Korean broadcasting system *Kyŏngsŏng Pangsong* with the call letters of JODK was established by the Japanese colony on February 16th 1927. The Koreans renamed it under the American military surveillance on August 18th

[52] More often than not, the composer Park Si-Ch'un has been regarded as either the pro-governmental, or the pro-Japanese artist. With this regard, his song "Sawŏlŭi Kitpal" helped him out in the other way.

1945, three days after the Korean independence. It was called KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), with the call letters of HLKA. Then, the early private broadcasting stations, such as Christian Broadcasting Station (CBS) and the first television broadcasting station (HLK2-TV), were open on May 12th 1956. Even though they were designed to be private broadcasting stations, they were mostly managed by the government.

a. The First South Korean Disc Jockeys

Strictly speaking, true private broadcasting stations were established in the 1960s. The first private broadcasting station was MBC (*Munhwa* Broadcasting Corporation), which was started in December 1961. The next one was DBS (Dong-A Broadcasting System) on April 1963. During this period, most of the radio music programs focused on the top-ten songs of the American pop music. The programs were hosted by the news anchormen.

The first South Korean disc jockey was Ch'oe Tong-Uk, the producer of the program "Top-Tune Show" from DBS since September 1964. Choi was followed by the legendary Lee Chong-Hwan from MBC and P'i Se-Yŏng from Radio Seoul Broadcasting. Since the English/American pop songs were mostly popular among the urban college students and white collar workers, they became symbolically coated with intelligence. Consequently, the disc jockeys' intellectual backgrounds also became affiliated with the cultural values of American pop songs in South Korea.

In the first place, the Korean concept of disc jockey was different from that in the United States, according to music columnist Sŏn Sŏng-Wŏn (Sŏn Sŏng-Wŏn 1993:82). The Korean concept of DJ was that one person should be in charge of hosting, programming and engineering. The one-man show format was formulated due to lack of trained personnel after the Korean Civil War (ibid.). Then, the singer-disc jockeys represented the next generation of South Korean radio show hosts. The tradition of singer-disc jockeys still goes on.

b. Kayo DJ

FM transmission was firstly introduced by Seoul FM in June 1965. Since FM transmission made it possible to produce clearer sounds, most of the FM channels focused on music, particularly on American pop songs. In the meantime, the first *kayo* DJs (disc jockeys for Korean popular songs) appeared on the Korean music scene in the late 1960s. The first *kayo* DJ was a newspaper reporter Chŏng Hong-T'aek. According to Sŏn, AM channels had a tendency of programming Korean popular songs, while FM channels were geared to American pop songs (ibid. 50).

c. From SP To LP

A number of technological advances allowed independent labels to enter the music business in South Korea in the 1960s, as witnessed earlier in the 1950s in the United States. One of the technological revolutions was LP record production. The difference from the previous SP (standard playing record) production was the efficiency in terms of sound quality, as well as the price. Each LP record could

include multiple songs, instead of just one song. The independent labels included Jigu, Oasis, Universal, Lucky, Oriental, Midopa, Mimi, Asea, Ramira, Daedo, Sŏngŭm, Prince, Samhwa, and so forth.

d. *Mi-8-Gun Shows*

Mi-8-Gun Shows (American 8th brigade shows) were originally designed as Korean singers' shows for the American soldiers during the Korean Civil War. Since the American military decided to stay in South Korean territory, these particular show evolved into a South Korean cultural production. In organizing the shows, there were agencies that managed singers, such as Universal, *Hwayang*, *Dongyŏng*, *Samjin*, and so forth. In the end, the professional pop-song singers who mostly sang American pop songs appeared in the late 1950s.

Mi-8-gun singers eventually influenced the entire Korean popular music scene in the 1960s, as they became popular among the South Korean public. The big figures coming from the *mi-8-gun shows* included Kim Sisters, Kimch'i Cats, Kim Boys, Patty Kim, Ch'oe Hŭi-Jun, Han Myŏng-Suk, and so forth. In sum, the singers later on not only contributed to the emergence of the American pop-style songs in Korea, but also influenced the transformation of the main Korean popular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1960s.

d. Radio and TV Drama Theme Songs

There was an episode of the exclusive *t'ŭrot'ŭ* TV show *Kayo Mudae*, aired in February 2002, for early Korean popular songs featured in radio and TV dramas of the 1960s and 1970s. According to the host of the TV show, there were five radio dramas everyday in the 1960s. These radio dramas constituted an important part of South Korean popular culture. The representative radio drama theme songs were "Hoejŏnŭija (Wheel Chair) in 1965 and "Yŏltunyangtchari Insaeng (Twelve Penny Value Life) in 1963, which were produced in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style.

In the 1970s, South Korean popular culture was geared towards TV dramas. There were two big hit dramas, *Yŏro* (Vagabond Way) in 1972 and *Assi* (Madam) in 1970. The composer of the two drama theme songs was one of the big figures in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, Paek Yŏng-Ho. The singer of the theme songs was the queen of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Lee Mi-Ja. The theme songs of the two very representative TV dramas in the 1970s were composed and sung by *t'ŭrot'ŭ* musicians. It apprears that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* reached its heyday in the 1970s.

4. Dynamics of Socio Political-Musical Relationships

a. Standardizing and Rearticulating

In the formative period, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was associated with the urban bourgeoisie intellectuals who acquired Western-style higher education either in Korea or in Japan. The privileged groups, in terms of economy and education, listened to the

music with a great deal of respect in those times, simply because of its association with Western and Japanese culture. The recording productions of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1930s helped its affiliation with the respectful musical value because the new furniture, the phonograph, mostly belonged to the urban bourgeoisie. Considering the poverty of the period, the acquisition of either the phonograph or the records cost fortunes in Korea.

However, advanced technologies such as LP records, radio, TV and movies, helped the unprecedented popularization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* from the 1960s through the mid-1970s. As a result, the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became standardized as the primary Korean popular song style that could represent the culture of the 1960s and the 1970s. In doing so, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* not only synthesized the pre-existing Korean popular song styles, but also transformed the existing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* into a new version of popular song style. In short, the standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* can be interpreted either as "stereotyping and reapproapriating" dynamic (Keil 1985), or as a "saturation and maturation" process (Manuel 2001).

b. Sanitizing *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

The dynamics of the standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1960s and 70s were composed of a number of complex issues involving aspects, such as the anti-communism driven by the international ideological conflicts, the anti-Japanese sensibilities directed by the South Korean governmental nationalism, the popular music censorships governed by the military tyrannies, and so forth.

First of all, anti-communism has an important and sensitive issue of the legislative missions of the South Korean administrations since the First Republic in the 1950s. In order to eradicate the ideological values of communism on the deepest level, the South Korean administration tried to manipulate popular cultural productions. Popular music was not an exception. Additionally, the traditional East Asian definition of music, as a symbolic carrier of the morals, social values and customs, helped the political interpretation of music in South Korea. Its musical consequence was the Westernization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as well as the unprecedented fad of the American pop-style songs in the 1970s. The simple logic was that American culture was considered as the opposite value to the communism, connoting safety in the South Korean context, in particular from the 1950s through the 1970s.

Secondly, nationalism was probably one of the most preferable ideological weapons for the South Korean administration to manipulate popular music production in those days. After the period of Japanese rule and the Korean Civil War, South Koreans demanded national security, feeling extremely vulnerable. The South Korean government began to censor popular music, insisting that cleaning up popular music should be one of the ways to clean society. In doing so, the South Korean administration tried to invent a new identity for popular culture, asserting that South Koreans needed pure Koreanness in their culture.

However, a new Korean identity for popular music was invented,

incorporating American and Latin musical idioms and at the same time cleaning out Japanese musical aspects, rather than re-discovering the pure Koreanness. Influenced by anti-communism, nationalism and anti-Japanese colonialism, the international musical idioms like the Western major/minor scales, American rock beat and Latin dance rhythm were utilized to formulate a new South Korean identity in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

II. Maturation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: 1945-the 1970s

In this section, I adopt the idea of "saturation and maturation" suggested by Peter Manuel. According to Manuel, some transculturations follow a process of "'saturation and maturation,' in which a foreign (often Western) music, after an initial period of domination, is eventually absorbed and either stylistically indigenized or abandoned in favour of syncretic local genres (2001:161)." In his analysis, Manuel emphasized the local agents' creative interpretations of the foreign music as well as the local musics. Local agents may develop Western-style songs into distinctive local-style songs.

T'ŭrot'ŭ was initially formulated as a synthesis of the Western, Japanese, and Korean musical traditions during the Japanese colony. However, as noted in chapter one, international relations between neighboring countries may sometimes be more intense than the American superimposition over the local. In other words, South Koreans were willing to utilize the American musical idioms in order to

clean up Japanese musical influences. During the transformation process, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was re-invented as a distinctive local tradition, and standardized as the very traditional Korean popular song style. Thus, this chapter is dedicated to examining the maturation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

1. Rejuvenation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: 1945-the 1950s

After the formative period of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (the late nineteenth century-1945), Korea went through tragic national events like the Civil War and the Separation. Due to the circumstantial turmoil, Korean popular music production suffered from the devastating conditions as well. The Korean music industry collapsed; the tyrannical state dried out the creative spirit of musicians; the nationalists tried to wash out any kind of cultural products influenced by the Japanese colony. What follows analyzes how *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was rejuvenated during this politically and economically destructive era.

a. Dark Period: the 1940s-the mid 1950s

Through national events like the attainment of Korean Independence (August 15th, 1945) and the Korean Civil War (1950-53), Korean popular musicians suffered from a substantial lack of infrastructure such as radio stations, recording productions, theatrical agents and so forth. In fact, the disfiguration of the musical infrastructure traced back to the late colonial period around the early 1940s. Expanding the war-territory after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941,

Japan was more committed to war than ever.

Consequently, the major American recording companies like Columbia and Victor withdrew from Korea as well as from Japan, since America was on the other side in the war. Besides, Japan eventually banned Korean recording productions of Korean music written since 1943 (Kim 1994:490). Thus, the removal of the two big recording companies and the ban on Korean recording production diminished and sterilized Korean popular music production during the late 1940s.

The Japanese recording companies also withdrew from Korea after Korean independence. In addition, the Korean Civil War destroyed most of the industrial infrastructure, and consequently further worsened the recording production condition in Korea. The conditions for other popular cultural productions like theater and movie were not better than those of popular music. Eventually, the performing artists—including musicians, actors/actresses, playwrights and comedians—had to rely on a different cultural production in order to cross-fertilize in terms of financial and artistic quality in the early 1950s, *akkŭktan* (musical troupe). The musical performance by the *akkŭktan* implied a heavy reliance upon live performance, in place of mediated sounds from radio and records. Korean popular music then returned to the basic—live performance.

b. Rejuvenation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: the mid 1940s-the mid 1950s

Akkŭktan (musical troupe)[53] thrived with the lack of recording infrastructures between the mid-1940s and the early 1950s. According to Hwang Mun-P'yŏng, the numbers of musical troupes amounted to 59 on December 12th, 1945 (ibid.). Some representative musical troupes were *Chosŏn akkŭktan, Bando akkŭktan, Ramira akkŭktan, Hŭimang akkŭktan,* and *K.P.K. akkŭktan*. Reflecting on the particular situation, most of the popular musicians during those times and even afterwards became associated with the names of the musical troupes that they once belonged to.

This cross-fertilization of music and drama eventually evolved into the early Korean movie theme songs in the late 1950s (Hwang Mun-P'yŏng 1985:163). For instance, one of the early notable musical singers Kim Paek-Hi recorded the first

[53] The practice of the modern Korean musical *Akkŭk* traced back to that of the early modern Korean theatrical performance in 1911. The early Korean plays contained the intermission shows that were composed of singing, standing comedies, and dancing. Alongside, the Koreans adopted the Japanese practices of the Western plays, called *sinp'agŭk*, since 1916. The *sinp'agŭk* was "Puhwal (Tolstoy play *Resurrection*)" by *Chosŏn Munyedan* (*Chosŏn* art and literature association) on April 28th, 1916.

According to a music critic Hwang Mun-P'yŏng, the theatrical performance became the main performance practice through which the early entertainers entered into the music business, rather than through the recordings or movies (Hwang 1985:263). In this article, Hwang reported that the numbers of theatres according to the regions, with the net of 195: 28 in *kyŏnggi* province, 26 in *kyŏngnam*, 18 in *kyŏngbuk*, 10 in *chŏnnam*, 10 in *chŏnbuk*, 11 in *ch'ungnam*, 3 in *ch'ungbuk*, 11 in *kangwŏn*, 7 in *hwanghae*, 14 in *p'yŏngnam*, 18 in *p'yŏngbuk*, 22 in *hamnam*, and 22 in *hambuk*.

Another live performance practice was invented by the recording companies, titled *yŏnjudan* in 1937. The OK recording company organized its own performance group, called *OK yŏnjudan* in 1937; the Victor label made *Victor yŏnjudan* on April, 1938; *t'aepy'ŏng* label run *t'aep'yŏng yŏnjoodan*. Likewise, each recording label organized its own musical troupe *akkŭktan* for the musical performance: the Victor's *victor kagŭktan*; the Columbia's *Columbia akkŭktan*. The term *kagŭktan* was another respectful name of *kagŭktan* without any significant musical differences at first (Ibid.).

Korean movie theme song "P'urŭn Ŏndŏk (Green Hill)" in 1948, followed by another movie theme song "Ch'ŏngch'un Hangno (The Road of the Youth)." Thus, early Korean popular music subsisted with an aid from other arts like theatre and movie, creating an alternative art form called *akkŭk*.

Meanwhile, the recording productions did not fade away, even though their scale became smaller than before. For instance, the musicians themselves established their own labels, such as Lucky by composer Park Si-Ch'un and songwriter Yu Ho. The huge hit song of Lucky was "Sillaŭi Talbam (Moonlight of *Silla*), sung by Hyun In in 1945. Rhythmically, the song was written on a two-beat bolero instead of the two-beat slow trot, unlike the others. The subtly exotic effects of the rhythm helped the huge success of the song in the late 1940s. Today, the song is categorized as *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, regardless of the rhythmic difference.

c. Syncretism of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: the mid 1950s-the early 1960s

There were a few special musical troupes only for the American military camps in South Korea during the Korean Civil War (1950-53), called *mi-8-gun showdan* (American 8th Brigade Show Troupes). The composers and the songwriters absorbed the American popular musical trends of those times in order to appeal to the American soldiers as well as to bring some exotic effects to the South Korean audiences, particularly the urban petit bourgeoisie. As a result, their songs were thematically and musically different from the previous ones. The songs were made upon both Korean and American musical structures, containing

foreign words in the texts. These songs may be viewed as a syncretic form of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

The most obvious examples of such syncretic *t'ŭrot'ŭ* were Kim Chŏng-Ae's "Nilliri Mambo (Nilniri Mambo)" in 1952, Paek Sŏl-Hŭi's "America Chinatown" in 1954, Song Min-Do's "Naŭi Tango (My Tango)" in 1953, Yun Il-Lo's "Guitar Boogie" in 1955, and An Chŏng-Ae's "Taejŏn Purusŭ (Daejŏn Blues)" in 1956. A number of popular songs of those times were influenced by American popular music, in particular dance music.[54] However, the musical influence was less than what they looked like in the titles. In other words, the songs hardly adopted the musical aspects of the original American popular music, while literally using the American musical terms in the titles like --mambo, --tango, --blues, and --boogie. Even though the songs' titles explicitly implied the American dance music, they still belonged to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, in terms of melodies, vocal performance practices, and instrumentations.

The syncretism of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in this period eventually helped its sanitization, removing the Japanese musical aspects from the early *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For sure, there were circumstantial forces that motivated South Korean musicians to clean up the Japanese-tinged musical aspects of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, particularly the Japanese pentatonic melodies. The sanitization drew its first force from the nationalists' cleaning up

[54] The Latin dance music influences of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* were strongly related to the dance fever in the United States in the 1950s. The American soldiers' favors of the American dance music, in particular Latin dance music, directly affected its adoption in the Korean popular music in the 1950s.

cultural imperialism. The South Korean government also utilized the cultural nationalism to legitimize their regime. Meanwhile, the emotional insecurity caused by communism after the Civil War elevated South Korea's inclination towards American culture. The musical mystification of American life continued until the late 1970s.

2. Standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: the 1960s

According to a songbook written by three representative composers of those times—Son Mok-In, Pan Ya-Wŏl and Park Si-Ch'un, the times from1960 to 1965 were categorized as the "revolutionary period," while those between 1965 and 1970 were the "maturation times" (Son, Pan and Park 1977). However, looking at the Korean music scene of the 1960s from a broader picture, the period of the 1960s can be re-categorized as the standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Mainly, two musical streams dominated the Korean popular music of the 1960s: American pop-style music[55] and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (Lee 1999:139). In the end, the American pop-style songs produced in the 1960s also became known as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to the public of the present, as the concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been broadened. On the other hand, the songs considered as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* by the musicians of the 1960s became

[55] Peter Manuel pointed out that the globalization of the Western pop ballad and soft rock in the East and South-east Asian musical scene: "By far the most popular musics throughout much of East and South-east Asian, for example, are varieties of the Western pop ballad and soft rock (e.g. 'pop Indonesia', Thai *sakon*, Chinese *Cantopop* and *gangtai-yue*) in which distinctively Asian stylistic features are generally minimal" (Hwang 2002).

regarded as the authentic style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* by the current musicians, despite of the debatable concept of authenticity. In general, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* of the 1960s contained the typical thematic characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* such as tragic love stories, machismo and nostalgia. Musically, three big figures—Lee Mi-Ja, Pae Ho, and Na Hoon-A—standardized its performance style.

a. Queen of Elegy: Lee Mi-Ja (1941-)

The female singer Lee Mi-Ja has been known either as the queen of elegy or the queen of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. There have been quite a few comments regarding her singing ability. For instance, some people thought of Lee as the singer of the century. Due to the Civil War, Lee had to travel all over the country as a refugee up until 1958. During that period, Lee absorbed all kinds of musical influences, including the *mi-8-gun shows*. In other words, Lee incorporated the existing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* style and the American pop-style in her music. Her music, while different from the previous *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, still retained its musical identity.

One of the most interesting scandals regarding her music was the political censorship related to the famous interrogation in 1964. Her typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song "Tongbaek Agassi (Camellia Lady)" was banned by the South Korean government in 1965. The reason for the ban was the alleged Japanese musical aspect expressed in the song, such as vocal inflections and the melodic lines. Despite her enormous popularity, the censored song could not be played again until the 1990s.

Since the first independent administration in modern Korean history in 1948,

both South and North Korean regimes disconnected their diplomatic and cultural relations with Japan. Both Korean governments utilized anti-Japanese sensibilities as the political means to solidify their regimes. The censorship against *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1960s was one of the social events that revealed the governmental manipulation of popular culture.

Meanwhile, like the other popular singers of those times, Lee Mi-Ja also acquired her popularity through the TV drama theme songs. The hit song in 1969 "Kirŏgi Appa (Lonely Father)," the 1970 hit song "Taedaphaejuseyo (Please Answer Me)," "Assi (Madam)" are the cases. Thus, Lee Mi-Ja devoted herself to the standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1960s.

b. Urban *T'ŭrot'ŭ*: Pae Ho

Unlike the other *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs in the 1960s, Pae Ho's songs described the gloomy aesthetics of urban lives. As witnessed in this fieldwork, there have been a number of fan clubs and festivals that cherished the late Pae Ho (1942-71).[56] Like the other short-lived popular figures—e.g., Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly in the United States—his early death at the age of 29 helped his mystification throughout Korean music history. Besides, his look, wearing black-framed glasses and an urban jacket, helped him to be known as a highly educated urban petit bourgeoisie, even though he was a middle school dropout. He has been also

[56] During the fieldwork, one of the festivals cherishing the memory of Pae Ho was held in Seoul, which was the "first Korean trot song festival" on April 22, 2002. The particular festival will be examined in the chapter five.

regarded as the singer who debuted the most songs, around 300, within the shortest period (5 years) in the Korean popular music history.

Regardless of such mystification, his musical contribution was undeniable. Pae Ho was an unlikely *t'ŭrot'ŭ* star. His lyrics barely touched on the homesick nostalgia; his vocalization was quite direct with little vibrato; his voice was distinguished with a heavy and thick sound in the low register. Pae Ho's urban aesthetics brought musical inspiration to the next generation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* widening the artistic scope. His hit songs included "Toraganŭn Samgakchi (Walking down *Samgakchi*)" in 1967, "Pinaerinŭn Myŏngdong (Raining *Myŏngdong*)" in 1970, and "An'gaekkin Changch'ungdan Kongwŏn (Foggy *Changch'ungdan* Park) in 1970. The geographic names in his songs indicated urban areas mostly located in Seoul, such as *Samgakchi, Myŏngdong* and *Janch'ungdan* Park, unlike the countryside names in other *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of those times.

c. Male *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Singers' Rivalry: Nam Jin and Na Hoon-A

The rivalry between two male *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers Nam Jin and Na Hoon-A took the popularity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to a new level in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Their relationships became fodder for popular gossip all over the country in the 1960s and 70s. Their hometowns, *Monkp'o* and *Pusan*, had also been in a rival relationship throughout history in terms of political standpoint.

Nam Jin (1945-) was known as the Korean version of Elvis Presley, because of his vocal style, his appearance with sideburns and curly hair, and his dancing

moves. He was the first male singer who could dance while singing in South Korea. Apparently, his performance was quite flamboyant, compared to other singers of those times. His hit songs were "Miwŏdo dasi hanbŏn (One More Time Even Though I Hate You)," "Kasŭm ap'ŭge (Heartache), "Nimgwa Hankke (With My Lover)" and so forth. His repertory consisted of typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs and hybrids of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with rock songs.

Unlike Nam Jin, Na Hoon-A preserved the traditional elements of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, in terms of vocalization and image. He never danced while singing, except for his idiosyncratic gestures like frowning. Regarding the performance style, he intensified the traditional characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, such as sorrowful love, men's hardship, and heavy vocal inflections. In the end, his maximized vocal inflections became the trademark of the standardized style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.* The big hit songs included "Sarangŭn Nunmulŭi Ssiat (Love is the Seed of Sorrow)," "Kohyangyŏk (Hometown Train Station)," "Kaji Mao (Don't Leave Me)," and so forth. In short, Na Hoon-A put together the key vocal elements, giving *t'ŭrot'ŭ* its indelible style, which is *kkŏngnŭn sori* (breaking sounds). Afterwards, Na Hoon-Ad, as a songwriter, incessantly transformed *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, incorporating features of traditional Korean song style and at the same time American pop-song style. Due to his endeavor, Na Hoon-A eventually became known as the Emperor of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

d. Standardization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

T'ŭrot'ŭ became recognized as a particular song style differentiating it from

the other American pop-style songs, as *mi-8-gun* singers acquired their popularity among the Korean public, particularly among young folks, in the 1960s. During this process, four solo singers brought stylistic identity to *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and standardized both its essence and its range.

Lee Mi-Ja created the typical female aesthetic of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* lamenting unrealistic love with the conventional attitude towards gender relations. The main theme was a sad love story; the attitude toward relationships was passive; the ladies in the songs do nothing but wait for their men and cry. The aesthetic of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was typically based in this conventional Korean morale regarding the gender relationships.

Pae Ho extended the thematic material of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to an urban aesthetic, even though his songs still lamented tragic love. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* came to the dark side of the urban area. His image and vocal style helped widen the aesthetic of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. His intelligent urban image and thick voice reinforced the urban stories of his songs, while the musical styles were still within the typical style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In the 1960s, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* could be the national song that expressed both urban and rural stories, particularly those of the working class.

Nam Jin, one of the singers of the main rivalry of the 1960s and 70s, incorporated features of American rock music into *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* became danceable; its rhythm got faster and diversified; the performance style became flamboyant. His musical and visual emulation of Elvis Presley brought musical

variety and unprecedented popularity to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Na Hoon-A, the other side of the rivalry, reinforced the traditional characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* such as breaking sounds and heavy vibrato while refraining from introducing new effects. He returned to the roots and reinvented a typical performing style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. His singing style contained more breaking sounds and vibrato than ever before. In the end, the performing style that Na Hoon-A established became the performing trademark of *t'ŭrot'u*.

In sum, categorized as a Korean song style, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* acquired its musical and aesthetic identity, distinguishable from the other song styles. Cleaning up the Japanese musical aspects and incorporating new musical features, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became the quintessential Korean song style that expressed the national aesthetic. During this process, the vocal style with breaking sounds and heavy inflections became the trademark of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the end.

3. Re-articulation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: 1970s

As *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became hackneyed in the 1970s it was identified with the lower working classes (Lee 1999:232). In consequence, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* lost its novelty, and its popularity obviously fell in the mid 1970s. At that moment, another political incident occurred. The South Korean government finally allowed the Korean-Japanese to visit South Korea in the mid 1970s. The South Korean government did not openly permit them to visit South Korea up until then because some of the

Korean-Japanese were socialists or communists from North Korea. However, as the South Korean regime began to have closer relations with Japan than ever before, South Korea had to uplift the ban of the Japanese visits to South Korea. The resurrection of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was one of the biggest materializations of this political transformation.

a. The Re-articulation of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*: The Combination of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* and Rock

Under continuing foreign influence, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* adopted a mainstream international style. The re-articulation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was initiated by the absorption of rock into *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Cho Yongp'il's "Torawayo Pusanhange (Come back to Pusan Harbor)" was the first example. Cho Yongp'il was originally an underground rock singer in the Pusan area. One day he saw an advertisement looking for a singer with recording experience; he desperately needed the job and promptly recorded the song "Torawayo Pusanhange" regardless of its musical differences. This song was an immediate success, and more than one million copies were sold without any commercial promotion. Cho's success stimulated other rock singers to produce *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs.

Timely, since Korean rock singers were under the governmental investigation because of marijuana scandals, they had to change their musical color in order to escape the surveillance: "By the mid-1970s, the *t'ong-guitar* movement [which can be analogous to the American folk rock in the 1960s, like Bob Dylan] had lost its momentum, due to the governmental prosecution of many *t'ong-guitar* singers

for smoking marijuana; rock style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* by singers such as Cho Yongp'il filled the void" (Hwang 2001:815). Thus, the re-articulation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was fueled by its melding with rock in the 1970s, which was sometimes called "*t'ŭrot'ŭ gogo* (Lee 1999:248)". Representative songs included "Odongip (Paulownia Leaf)" sung by Choi Hun in 1977 and "Changmibit Scarf (Rose-Pink Scarf)" sung by Yun Hang-Ki in the late 1970s.

There was an insider/outsider difference between Cho Yong-P'il and the previous *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers. The previous *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers like Nam Jin and Na Hoon-A began their musical career with *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, and moved away from the inside, absorbing outside musical influences like rock beat and Latin dance rhythms. Meanwhile, Cho Yong-P'il, who was the leader of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* revival in the 1970s, came from the outside—rock music. However, their original musical identities did not cross paths: Nam Jin and Na Hoon-A have been considered as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers while Cho Yong-P'il became the legend of Korean pop-ballad songs in the 1980s.

b. The Re-invention of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

Due to the incessant incorporations of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with other song styles by both the rock singers and the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* realized dramatic transformations in the 1970s. First of all, the melodic lines of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became westernized, washing out the Japanese pentatonic scales. South Koreans utilized the Western major/minor scales for re-inventing the tradition of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, erasing the Japanese influences of the colony. However, they preserved the vocal

performance practice as one of the essential traditions.

Second, the rhythmic structure of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* had a few varieties, adopting the rock beat and Latin dance rhythms. In doing so, the musical instrumentation was electrified, including the electric guitar and the synthesizer. As *t'ŭrot'ŭ* obtained danceable beats in a faster tempo, its lyrics consequently began to express lighter and more cheerful themes instead of sorrowful love. Eventually, this musical and poetic direction would come out as a different trend of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1980s.

Conclusion

Chapter four explores the maturation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* during the period between 1945 and the 1970s. Since its formulation during the Japanese colony, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* had an indissoluble connection with political ideologies such as cultural imperialism. Furthermore, the South Korean dictatorships utilized South Koreans' uncomfortable feelings about the Japanese colony in order to legitimize their regimes, inventing a new Korean identity. In doing so, the dictatorships censored popular culture, particularly *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For instance, the queen of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Lee Mi-Ja's huge hit song "Tongbaek Agassi (Camellia Lady)" was banned in 1965 because of its alleged Japanese musical aspects. Despite its enormous popularity, the song could not be played again until the 1990s.

In consequence, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* transformed, sanitizing its Japanese musical aspects and adopting Western musical idioms. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* was re-invented as a distinctive

local tradition, and standardized as the very traditional Korean popular song style. In other words, the local agents, South Koreans, stylistically and symbolically developed their local-style songs, negotiating with political dynamics like cultural imperialism and governmental censorship. The relations between culture, politics, and public consciousness are multi-layered and dialectically working (Raymond Williams 1977); popular music is an arena of social negotiation (Middleton 1990).

PART THREE. PRACTICE OF *T'ŬROT'Ŭ*

Chapter Five: Localizing *T'ŭrot'ŭ—T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley

Cassettes had a huge impact on popular musical production and consumption in South Korea in the 1980s, as in other developing countries around the same time (Sutton 1985; Wong 1989). First of all, among the revolutionary effects of cassettes was reduced costs:

> In 1969 the industry produced small, self-contained tape cassettes that could run backward or forward, record or replay, skip to specific selections, and hold as much as an LP. These mass-produced cassettes had all the advantages of tape—high-quality sound, long wear and ease of storage—available, affordable, easy to use, and very popular. By 1970 cassettes accounted for nearly a third of recorded music sales, and in 1971 the value of tape players sold exceeded that of phonographs (Toll 1982:74).

Due to economic efficiency, a number of small-sized recording companies could easily acquire access to the music business and could participate in the creation of new musical styles. Simon Frith added that the importance of cassettes was beyond economic efficiency, pointing out that producers and engineers became more important than before due to the particular technology, thereby changing the production process of popular music:

> Producers no longer had to take performances in their entirety. They could cut and splice, edit the best bits of performances together, cut out the mistakes, make records of ideal not real events. And, on tape, sounds could be added artificially. Instruments could be recorded separately. A singer could be taped, sing over the tape, and be taped again. Such techniques gave producers a new flexibility and enabled them to make records of performances, like a double-tracked vocal, that were impossible live… (Frith 1988:22)

Recorded music became a new type of music, not just a copy of a live performance. A mediated form of music was then a work of art itself and could achieve its own authenticity, as the technology was regarded as another innate element of music, particularly of popular music. Subsequently, musical choice fell into the hands of producers or engineers, rather than those of musicians. The control that producers and/or engineers had over the music tended to accelerate the standardization of musical process. In this case in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, small-sized local companies utilized the cassette technology to invent a local musical product, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, that reflected local tastes.

Incorporating traditional Korean vocalization and Western diatonic tunes, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was standardized as a sorrowful love song of South Korea in the 1960s. Leading figures included such star singers as Lee Mi-Ja, Na Hoon-A, and Pae Ho. The cassette production of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley in the 1980s changed the whole direction of the history of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. College-educated female singer Choo Hyun-Mi (Chu Hyŏn-Mi) initially attained a huge success in the local market of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley and then went to the main market of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. After achieving another huge success in the main market, her fast-tempo, lighthearted musical style, which was heavily invested in the aesthetics of medley, influenced the entire musical scene of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* afterwards.

The impact of cassette production has been studied in other developing

countries like Indonesia and Thailand. In particular, Sean Williams's ethnographic study of Sundanese (the Sundanese people of West Java, Indonesia) popular music should be mentioned here because she examined how Sundanese popular music was localized with the help of cassette tape production in the 1980s.

In the 1960s and 70s, *pop Sunda*—Sundanese popular music—was based upon the typical Western style of popular music: "functional harmony, Western style ensemble (organ, drum set, electric guitar, and bass), diatonic scale, wide and consistent vocal vibrato unlike anything heard in other forms of Sundanese vocal music, swooping glissandi, and a total lack of vocal ornamentation that could be considered Sundanese in character (Williams 1989/90:107)." In the meantime, a new combination of one of the most elite and traditional genres of Sundanese music, *gamelan degung* ensemble, and a new form of ensemble consisting of female players and vocalists began to gain popularity in the Sundanese cassette market. The new ensemble was, furthermore, associated with a new style of light vocal music known as *kawih*. Accordingly, the new style of gamelan *degung* was called *degung kawih*, reflecting the added song style *kawih*. By the mid-1980s, the cassette sales of *degung kawih* soared, and the best-selling Sundanese cassette of all times, Nano Suratno's "Kalangkang," was released first in 1986 with the help of the huge success of *degung kawih*. Nano composed "Kalakang" for *degung kawih*, while borrowing diatonic Western pitches. Williams analyzed the consequences of the particular song in the Sundanese

music history below:

> In some cases, even if functional harmony has become firmly entrenched in a musical tradition, it may also be excited in an attempt to return to a more culturally-relevant performance practice (Babiracki 1985:97; Nettl 1985:100). Such is the case with popular Sundanese music, which in 1990 contrasts sharply with popular Sundanese music of twenty years ago (Williams 1989/90:105-6).

Thus, after the big success of "Kalakang," *pop Sunda* acquired a specific new criterion: "it should be played on Sundanese instruments even if it was originally written for a band (ibid.)." In other words, a huge hit of a cassette production brought a new direction to the entire Sundanese popular music scene.

Unlike *degung kawih* in Indonesia, the South Korean *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley did not inspire a return to traditional music, but *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, a new local style of cassette recording, has influenced the entire musical direction of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* since the mid 1980s. In addition, the cassette tape production of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley has remained as an aspect of the musical identity of the South Korean working class. In short, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley became an invented musical tradition in South Korea in the 1980s with the help of cassette tape recordings. In this chapter, I explore the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley market in terms of place, agents and meaning of music, and then examine the performance practice of its cassette tapes in terms of sound production and repertoires. In doing so, I also analyze how a female singer's success has influenced the musical characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* since the 1980s, as

well as the cassette industry of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley itself.

I. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Market

During fieldwork, I realized that there were two types of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers in terms of recording style and repertories: first, a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer recording his/her own songs; second, a medley singer who recorded only hit songs either of the past or of the present. As for the latter, TV talk show *Im Sŏng-Hun'gwa hamkke* (Together With Im Sŏng-Hun), produced by MBC in South Korea, aired a special episode titled *Kosoktorowiŭi Ŏlgulŏmnŭn Kasu* (Faceless Singer on the Highway) on June 30, 2003. As reflected in the title of the episode, medley singers have not been treated well by the public because they recorded only other singers' hit songs instead of their own creative songs. Nonetheless, an examination of record sales data indicates that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley productions might be more marketable than regular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* productions.

Examining the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music industry, record sales do not play important roles in the market of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, as revealed in the chart released by Korean Recording Industry Association in July 2002.

Rank	Album Title	Title Song	Genre	Net of CD	Net of MC
1	Cool 7th	"Chinsil"	Dance	263,663	268,931
2	Wax 3rd	"Put'ak Haeyo"	Ballad	88,752	80,682
3	Mun Hŭi-Jun 2nd	"Akkimŏpsi junŭn namu"	Rock Ballad	86,314	75,698
4	Park Chong-Hyŭn	"Klume"	R&B	77,845	35,783
5	Yun To-hyŏn Band Live II	"Naege Wa Jwŏ"	Rock Ballad	37,285	32,697
31	Tae Jin-A 2002	"Sarangŭn Changnani Aniya"	*T'ŭrot'ŭ*	1,217	7,136

Table 3. Net of South Korean Popular Music CD & MC[57] Sales in July 2002

The chart of top-50 records in July 2002 contained only one *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song, which was Tae Jin-A (T'ae Chin-A)'s *Tae Jin-A 2002*, ranked 31th with only 1,217 CD and 7,136 MC (cassette) sales. He has been recently considered as one of the big four male *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, collectively known as *sainbang*.[58] According to the chairman of *Kasu Pu'gwa Wiwŏnhoe* (Singer's Subcommittee of Korean Entertainment Association) Kim Kwang-Jin, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* claims only 5% of the entire popular music industry in South Korea. As a matter of fact, when I interviewed *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, they were willing to give me their own CDs for free. When I asked its price, they even laughed, saying that CD sales had nothing to do with their own music business. By all means, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* could no longer be considered a big part of the recording industry in South Korea.

[57] MC refers to micro cassette, which is a regular cassette tape.
[58] *Sainbang* includes Sŏl Woon-Do, Song Dae-Kwan (Song Tae-Gwan), Hyŏn Ch'ŏl, and Tae Jin-A (T'ae Chin-A).

However, the case of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was different. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley records, particularly medley cassette tapes, have been one of the most popular cultural commodities among Korean adults aged over mid-thirties since the 1980s. According to recording producer Chŏng Chin-Yŏng, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes amount to 90 % of the entire *t'ŭrot'ŭ* record market. The question here is how cassette production of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley became such an active local tradition. In what follows, I explore the ramification of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley according to its marketplace, examining such issues as class, gender, and age.

1. General Idea of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Market

There were two forces that made the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley a new local tradition in South Korea: price and convenience. Whether remotely or not, the invention of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley could be linked to the mind of the South Korean working class and to the rapid development of the national economy in the 1970s and 80s. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassettes were, in this light, an extremely efficient commodity.

The price of a medley cassette tape is around 2,500 *won* (approx. $2.00), half the price of a regular cassette tape. Despite the remarkably low price, this musical production is absolutely legal. The practice of compiling either contemporary or legendary hits on one tape, a medley cassette tape, has become routinized in South Korean popular culture, and the legal procedure of musical ownership/copyright had to be adjusted accordingly.

There are two ways to purchase the ownership/copyright for a medley production in South Korea.[59] The first type of medley production records hit songs that were produced at least one and a half years ago. In this case, the producer has to register and pay for the songs at KOMCA (Korea Music Copyright Association). The fees for the purchase are fixed, no matter how successful the hit songs were in the past. The second type of medley production records hit songs produced within the past one and a half years. This procedure may be extremely personal. Sometimes, a producer could purchase songs he/she wants to use for free, as long as he/she has a personal connection with the songwriter. Otherwise, the producer is obligated to offer the fee that satisfies the songwriter's pride. The negotiated fees are confidential and even highly exaggerated, for the sake of the songwriter's fame.

As for the convenience of medley, producer Chŏng asserted that a customer could acquire almost everything he/she wants to hear in one cassette tape. The following is the interview with Chŏng in May 2002:

> Chŏng: Almost everything is in one cassette tape! That's the charm of medley!
> I: What do you mean by almost everything?
> Chŏng: The customers do not want only one song. They want to listen to many songs with the same style. Our targets are t'ŭrot'ŭ fans, not any particular singer's fans. Who would be willing to pay for one singer's particular song?
> I: What about other types of popular music? People buy a particular singer's song.
> Chŏng: T'ŭrot'ŭ is different. People want to feel this type of music with a bunch of this

[59] This information is based upon the interviews with a professional *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley producer, Chŏng Chin-Yŏng, which were taken two times in May 2002.

kind of songs, not a particular song.

According to Chŏng, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* listeners mostly want to feel an aura that could be produced by many similar types of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The aura in this case is not produced by famous composers or multinational corporations but generated by people's demands, even though Sony Music once attempted to take over the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley market in 1995. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley production is, in this light, democratic, since it has thrived as a local cassette music production for a local taste.

Additionally, as stated by Lee Yŏng-Mi, the significance of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley extended beyond the establishment of its own self-sufficient musical culture, but changed the entire musical aesthetics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* more generally. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singers such as Choo Hyun-Mi and Mun Hi-Ok in the mid-l980s contributed the dramatic transformation of the entire musical genre of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (Lee 1999:276-8). A new type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* emerged that was heavily influenced by the medley production, favoring an up-tempo disco rhythm and lighthearted, playful lyrics. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* was not a Korean elegy any more, as songs even described immoral relationships between night-club dancers and their customers.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to take into account the economic politics engaged in the musical production. The medley production is not driven only by people's demands, but also by the sales strategy for the local market. Inspired by the

lucrative cassette tape market, local music businessmen negotiated with the songwriters (including composers and lyrists) to gain permission to use their songs for a medley tape production, which then became legal. Local businessmen, including local producers and sound engineers, pieced together similar *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs with up-tempo rhythmic accompaniments to meet local musical/aural demands. In short, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley production has been another cultural battlefield for struggles over musical sensibilities, industrial profits and institutional.

2. Market Places, Subjects, and Music

As asserted by Middleton, cultural production is conditioned by people's class, gender and age (Middleton 1990:11). Such is the case with the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley market in South Korea, in which the relations between the subjects/consumers and the music are deeply related. During the interview, producer Chŏng recommended that I visit street markets in *Myŏngdong* and *Chongmyo* park, in the center of Seoul, and a traditional marketplace in *Moran, Kyŏnggido*, outside of Seoul. He asserted that different styles of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley songs were consumed according to these different marketplaces because each of them was linked to different groups of people.

Rice and Killick have studied the relations between place, time and metaphor of music, focusing on subjects/agents' experience of music (Rice 2003; Killick 2003). While Rice emphasized individual's interpretation of a particular music

within a specific spatial and historical context, Killick suggested utilizing the subject-centered ethnography for a comparative study of microstudies. I intend to take the comparative perspective of subject-centered microstudies below, in order to understand the entire market of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley in South Korea.

a. *Chongmyo* Park

First, I went to a street market in *Chongno*, the traditional downtown district of Seoul. There was an unexpectedly small and old street market next to the *Pagoda* Park, which is well known as the place for older people and may be seen to represent the culture of the aged group in South Korea. For example, the charity concerts for the elders are regularly held there every other week (sometimes every week). The older generation from either middle class or working class, particularly men, spend their time playing Chinese and/or Korean traditional chess—*paduk* or *changgi*—on a daily basis. Considering the traditional spatial division between men and women, outdoor places like parks supposedly belong to men.

The street market in *Chongno* was located on the street outside the *Chongmyo* park. It was very small in size and scale. A couple of old men sat on little benches behind the cassette tapes on the ground. The salesmen were as old as the customers. The price of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes was around 2,000 won ($1.50), which was affordable to any retired old men. The marketplace did not have much tension between the salesmen and the customers. The customers did not seem to

care about the sound quality of the tapes. As I talked with a customer, he said that he looked for any tapes that had this type of songs— *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. He also said that he listened to *t'ŭrot'ŭ* music while his grandchildren went out because they did not like it.

There were two kinds of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes in the *Chongno* street market. The first one was an omnibus of hits by well-known performers, while the second one was a medley singer's rendition of either big hits or similar types of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The rhythmic section recorded in both tapes was the very stereotypical two beat *t'ŭrot'ŭ* rhythm in a slow tempo.

b. *Myŏngdong*

The street market in *Myŏngdong* was quite different from that in *chongno*, even though they were very close to one another. In *Myŏngdong*, there were crowds of young people, fancy restaurants, cafés, and clothing stores. The market is well known for its young and urban culture. Therefore, I could not see any cassette tapes at this location regardless of the type of music. All I could hear was dance music and rap music overflowing from the stores. As seen in the Table 3, dance, rap, rock and r&b are the main genres for the teenagers in South Korea.

c. *Namdaemun Sijang*

Namdaemun Sijang (South Gate Marketplace) is one of the most famous traditional marketplaces in Seoul, known as one of the most exciting places for tourists to visit in South Korea. It was established centuries ago. Recently, it has

been also protected as one of the national tourist spots. I saw displays of cassettes in the *namdaemun* marketplace, as seen in the following picture.

Picture 6. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassettes in *Namdaemun* Market

One salesman said that he had all kinds of popular songs, either cassettes or CDs, popular among South Korean adults. He also proudly said that he was one of those people who could change the entire South Korean music market. According to him, customers were inclined to buy the cassette tape that the salesman was playing at the moment. Once again, people in this marketplace tended to buy a compilation tape evoking a certain aura, rather than a particular song. And, since the place was associated with a variety of groups in terms of age, class and gender,

there were several kinds of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medleys in the market for different tastes of different groups among them; *café t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley*, t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley*, dance t'ŭrot'ŭ (disco t'ŭrot'ŭ)* medley*,* and *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

Café t'ŭrot'ŭ medley is produced mostly for the middle-aged women/housewives. The songs and their rendition types fit between typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and ballad. As mentioned, there are three categories in the South Korean music scenes of today, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* for the elders*,* ballads for those in their twenties and thirties, and dance music for teenagers. In the case of *café t'ŭrot'ŭ*, its repertories and the performance style could contain either *t'ŭrot'ŭ* or ballad, or both. The rhythmic rendition could be more Western, including Latin dance rhythm more often; the vocal inflection could be simpler than that of regular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* performance. The tempo of the *café t'ŭrot'ŭ* was usually medium, suitable for the *café* environment, and its lyrics generally contemporary and romantic, referencing, for example, casual relationships between dancers and married people.

With regard to *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ*, the salesmen in the *namdaemun* marketplace brought up the issue of class. According to them, highway/metro bus drivers, truck drivers, and taxi drivers composed the audience for this type of medley because they wanted to hear some cheerful songs while working. As seen in the title of a TV talk show episode featuring four *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singers, *Kosoktorowiŭi Ŏlgulŏmnŭn Kasu* (Faceless Singer on the Highway), the South

Korean popular discourse linked *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley to highway drivers. Furthermore, it showed that *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley occupied a major portion of the medley market.

As for the *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, the salesmen in the market also brought up an issue of ethno-aesthetics—*hŭng*. The projected aura of the *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley should be *hŭngkyŏpta* (cheerful). Its repertoires might be same as those in the other types of medleys, but its rhythmic accompaniment should be totally different. Mostly the rhythm was on the sixteen/eight disco beats in a slightly fast tempo. In the TV talk show, the four invited *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singers also emphasized how they could bring the cheerful aura into the medley cassette tape, as in the following script:

> …(A female medley singer): At first, I couldn't sing this type of music. So, I had to drink a cup of Soju (Korean traditional alcoholic beverage) before recording. With the help of alcohol, I could sing the songs much more cheerfully, while improvising lyrics and melodies, in order to bring extra boosting.
> Im (the host): Let's take a look at how she did, now.

This conversation was followed by a pre-recorded clip of her recording process. In the clip, she added so many nonsensical words like *iiiiya-iiiya, huii-huii, ururu-hya,* and *assa assa*, while the other male singer sang a regular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. The male singer was the president of *medley kasu hyŏphoe* (the association of medley singers). He highly praised her ability to convey a cheerful

quality, which should be one of the essences of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. I will deal with this particular ethno-aesthetics in detail in chapter five-II. In short, since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley occupies a major portion of the medley market, the working class male listeners can be said to be the key subjects in the medley production.

Another type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley is *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ*, one of the most recently formulated musical products in the medley market. Sony Music attempted to make a multinational market of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley by producing Epaksa's *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ*, titled *Space Fantasy*, in 2000. As a result, the *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was forged as a new type of medley production. At first, it was associated with the younger audiences because of the techno rhythmic rendition. However, this type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley became in the end another major type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

Epaksa was the stage name of a male tour guide who used to sing *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley for the highway bus tourists.[60] For sure, he was not the first tour guide singer, but he was one of the figures contributing to another blossom in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* market, one that attracted foreign investments—Sony Music. In this regard, he could be said to have produced "a big sound of small people," as seen in another example of Indian's investments in Sri Lanka (Wallis and Malm 1984:62-63). Local taste could be considered seriously even in terms of international economy.

[60] There has been a type of tourism in South Korea—*kwan'gwang bus chum* (tour bus dance), which was dancing in the bus during their moving between the places to visit. Due to its danger, the South Korea government legally prohibited, but the dancing culture thrived in small scale now.

d. Highway rest areas

Highway rest areas must be one of the most convenient market places for highway bus drivers and truck drivers to purchase popular song tapes. Unlike other street markets or traditional marketplaces, record stores in the highway rest areas sell *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley songs in a neat and modern way, just like record stores in the city. The price was slightly higher than that of the other places. The plastic wrapping papers were fancier. The sales persons were young women with uniforms.

In these rest stops, it is hard to find any personal relationships between salespersons and customers. Yet, I could easily notice that the consumed music was highly connected to the working class male audience, particularly drivers. I could also tell that adult comedy tapes, which contained very explicit jokes, were as popular as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette tapes. In sum, it seems that cassette tapes are strongly linked to the adult culture in South Korea, and the markets of highway rest areas were also closely related to the Korean male adult culture.

e. *Moran changt'ŏ*

Changt'ŏ is the Korean name for the Korean traditional marketplace that is not held on a daily basis, but every other week, or less. *Moran changt'ŏ* is one such marketplace in the southern area of *Kyŏnggi—moran*. It is regularly held on the second and the fourth Thursday of each month in a huge parking lot located near a subway station. When I entered the marketplace, I was so surprised because I did

not expect to see so many old cultural practices that I might have only seen on TV, such as a snake show and an acrobat circus show.

There was a music wagon on the corner of the marketplace, as seen in the following picture, which was taken on May 28th, 2003. It had similar characteristics to that of *namdaemun*: there were a variety of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassettes; the age of customers varied from mid-thirties to eighties, both men and women; the mainly consumed sub-genre of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was *dance t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. I could witness that most of the customers requested a cheerful type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

Picture 7. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Market in *Moran Chang-t'ŏ*

Another small wagon was found in the same marketplace. This sitting wagon

contained all kinds of daily necessities like small batteries, small electric torches, small electric calculators, songbooks, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette tapes. When I tried to take a picture, the shy old man, owner of the wagon, left his seat. According to him, the main customers were old men, just like him. The songbook on the wagon contained only lyrics of old songs with big fonts so that old men could read easily; the cassette tapes were mostly typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, which consisted of old hit songs. It was hard to believe that it was a commercial wagon because of its tiny scale. As noted by the old man, his coming to this traditional marketplace was all about nostalgia, sharing his feelings and togetherness. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* medley symbolized being a Korean, bringing old men nostalgia.

Picture 8. A Small Wagon of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Cassettes in *Moran Chang-tŏ*

Meanwhile, I luckily happened to see another type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley market

in the *moran chang-tŏ*. It was a performance, featuring a pseudo traditional song-drama, *kaksŏri t'aryŏng* (a traditional Korean folk song-drama of a beggars' plot). The troupe consisted of one actor/singer, one drummer, one salesman and another sales woman. As shown in the following picture, the performance was basically a one-man show. The actor/singer, who also hosted the show, was singing, talking, and dancing. The basic form was borrowed from *kaksŏri t'aryŏng*, including beggars' costumes and traditional Korean drums, but his performance and plot were totally different. The actor wore a cheap short skirt, spandex T-shirt, and red hair-band. While singing and dancing, the skinny guy took off his clothes to make fun of himself.

Picture 9. *Kaksŏri t'aryŏng* in *Moran Changt'ŏ*

Their *kaksori t'aryong* was a hybrid musical product that combined traditional musical instrumentations and modern song styles—*t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. The

actor/singer performed a couple of medley songs for free to the audience. Then they sold *yŏ*t (traditional Korean caramel), which also serves as a means of traditionalization of their performance. The character wanted to evoke a sense of community imbued with the authenticity of a traditional song-drama, including traditional Korean musical instruments, a traditional Korean song-drama plot, Korean traditional caramel, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. As the show went on, the drummer and the salespeeple came out from backstage and began to sell *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley song tapes to the audience. The following picture is the cover of the song tape compilation they sold in the marketplace. The *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tape compilation consisted of six different tapes with different themes respectively, *yŏngwŏnhan oppa* (forever brother)*, disco oppa* (disco brother), *t'ŭrot'ŭ insaeng* (*t'ŭrot'ŭ* life), *ch'ŏngnyŏn disco* (disco for the middle-aged), *kwan'gwang polka* (tourist polka), and *techno medley*. The price of the compilation was 10,000 won ($8.50). The audience showed their appreciation for the free song-drama/strip show by purchasing either *yŏt* or *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes.

Picture 10. The Cover of A *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Compilation

The three faces on the top of the cover are the real singers, while the other pretty girls at the bottom have nothing to do with the music at all. In fact, the actor/singer of the *kaksŏri t'aryŏng* was not related to the tapes either. The troupe organized the performance only to sell the tapes and not to promote their own performance or their songs. Thus, *kaksŏri t'aryŏng* performance in *moran changt'ŏ* was another type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley marketplace, synthesizing traditional Korean cultural ideas and a local musical style, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

In conclusion, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley marketplaces are not limited to legitimate record stores, but extend to traditional Korean marketplaces, street markets, and performance-style marketplaces. The marketplace is not only a geographic space, but also a cultural arena, in which different groups of people negotiate their musical tastes, cultural values and their own identities. In other words, since

different marketplaces are interrelated to local listeners/consumers' different tastes, different style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley has been invented and consumed.

II. Inventing Sounds of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley

Closely tied with working-class adults, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette tapes have been commodified as an everyday-life necessity of so-called ordinary Korean adults. This is partly the result of a couple of big names' successes in the late 1980s like Choo Hyun-Mi and Mun Hi-Ok, which helped increase popularity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley on a nation-wide basis, as well as influence the musical characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* entirely. As seen in the nickname of Lee Mi-Ja, the queen of elegy, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a sad song until the early 1980s. However, the two female *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singers' national success changed the entire *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to a cheerful, funny, urban and light-hearted love song. Following *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of the 1990s (until now) took this musical trend: its tempo got faster; the melodies were mostly made up with major diatonic scales; the stylistic beats tended to be disco-tinged dance rhythm.

1. Inventing Sounds of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley

a. Choo Hyun-Mi's Success in 1984

Choo Hyun-Mi is a Chinese-Korean female *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer. The following is a part of the poster for her dinner show, titled "queen of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* Choo Hyun-Mi,"

in Cheju island:

> In the mid-1980s, her *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley of old-time hit songs, *ssangssang party*, could be heard everywhere in the nation, either on the street or inside public transportation means, such as buses and taxis. As a heroin, she played a key role in resurrecting *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1980s, and she herself reached her heyday….
>
> Gaining an unexpected success of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley album, she helped develop a new style of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, called *new t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which was attractive even to teenagers… (http://www.yettz.com/culture/hankook/ex.asp?wid=750&id=20031022001).

Quitting her day job as a pharmacist, which was a respected job in South Korea, she began her music career as a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singer. Emphasizing her intelligence, she was often called *yaksa kasu* (pharmacist singer). *Ssangssang Party* (Couple Party) was her first *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley album of old-time hit songs, released in 1984. As connoted by the title, *ssangssang* (couple), a female singer, Choo Hyun-Mi and a male singer, Kim Chun-Kyu sang alternatively. Its cassette tape sold over a million copies (Kim 1994:599). As noted by music journalist Kim Yong Jun, Choo Hyun-Mi was one of the first stars who were not strategically promoted by the mass media, but literally gained popularity from the people themselves on the streets. As seen in chapter five-I, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette tapes are mostly consumed in extremely local marketplaces, such as street wagons and traditional marketplaces. Her bottom-up type of success enabled her to achieve an influential power to direct the ensuing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs.

During the fieldwork, I asked how Choo Hyun-Mi was different from the previous singers, and what *new t'ŭrot'ŭ* was. A female singer in her mid-thirties,

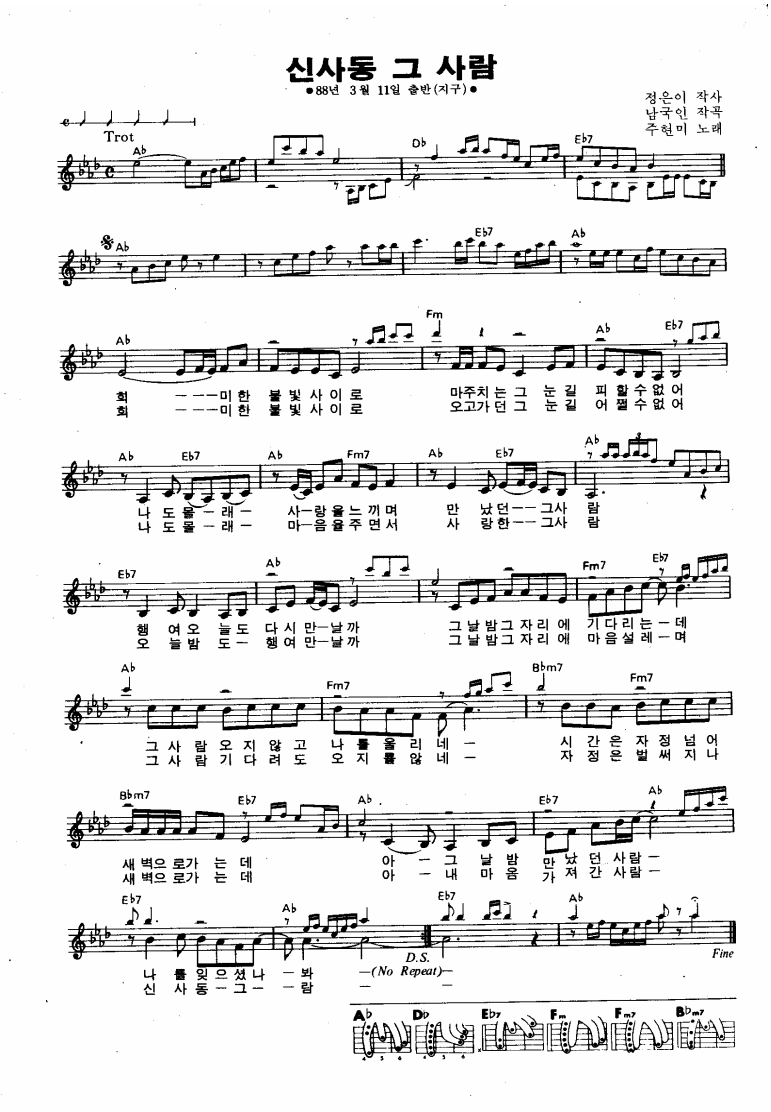
Lee Su-Jin, described Choo's vocal style:

> Lee: When I began singing *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* I used to imitate Choo's vocal style. Choo uses various vocal techniques like breaking voices (*kkŏngnŭn sori*), falsettos and vibrations, and she alternates them more often than any singer throughout Korean popular music history. She must be the first one who used so many vocal techniques in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singing (February 8, 2003).

Surely, Choo utilized a variety of vocal techniques and vocal timbers. She never sang a single note without changing its vocalization. She indeed brought a new sound to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Her vocal technique took another singer to the stardom, Hyŏn Ch'ŏl. Hyun in the end became one of the four leaders of *t'ŭrot'ŭ, sainbang*.

Choo's impact was beyond her personal vocal style, formulating the *new t'ŭrot'ŭ*. As a matter of fact, I could witness that different persons used different terms like *high- t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *semi- t'ŭrot'ŭ*, implying the same style of *new t'ŭrot'ŭ.* According to Lee, this type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has a faster tempo, uses the major diatonic scale, and sets lighthearted lyrics. The new type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was different from the previous *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in terms of music and vocalization. In addition, as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* changed, so did its symbolic meaning. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* became a joyful, urban, ephemeral popular song that could express a Korean ethno-aesthetics, *hŭng* (ecstasy), instead of *han* (sorrow).

It is worthwhile to examine a piece of Choo Hyun-Mi's hit songs, "Sinsadong kŭ saram (That Man of *Sinsa* Street)," released in 1988.



Example 10. Choo Hyun Mi, "Sinsadong kŭ saram (That Man of *Sinsa* Street)" in 1988

In contrast to the previous *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, this song is a cheerful and relatively

fast love song. Even though the major scale does not necessarily equal a cheerful sentiment, this song is made up of many major chords of the major diatonic scale (Ab) that enliven designated sad song style.

The lyrics are not just a simple poem but a ballad with a story. This song is a woman's monologue about a man whom she met in a night-club once. In detail, *sinsadong* is a well-known street in Seoul for night-clubs, especially for older men and women past the age of forty. Thus, this song presumably concerns a casual relationship between a middle-age woman and a man.

Considering that Korea is deeply rooted in Confucian culture that emphasizes devotion to marriage, the image of an immoral relationship like this conflicts with social norms. In addition, the problematic image of the song can be in conflict with the image of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* itself, which should be a traditional Korean song. In other words, the frivolous story is not related to reality, but to a caricatured worldly life that people, especially adults, would like to have, as in a TV drama. For sure, this new image was also connected to a recent cultural change in South Korea, which includes a loosening of Confucian morality, and expanding night life culture.

Hŭimihan pulbitsairo majuch'inŭn kŭ nun'gil p'ihalsuŏpsŏ
Nado mollae sarangŭl nŭkkimyŏ mannattŏn kŭ saram
Haengyŏ onŭlto tasi mannalkka kŭ nalbam kŭ charie kidarinŭnde
Kŭ saram oji ank'o narŭl ulline
Siganŭn chajŏng nŏmŏ saebyŏkŭro kanŭnde
A! kŭ nalbam mannattŏn saram narŭl ijŭshyŏtnabwa

I couldn't avoid his eyes in the dim light
a man that I fell in love without knowing
Maybe I'll meet him again today
I'm waiting for him at the same place we met
He doesn't show up and that makes me cry
The time is well past midnight and the morning is coming
Ah….the man I met that night…that man of Sinsa street

Example 11. Choo Hyun Mi, "Sinsadong kŭ saram (That Man of *Sinsa* Street)"

Returning to the vocalization of Choo Hyun-Mi, it is necessary to mention that she utilized as many different vocal techniques as she could. In doing so, she switched her vocalization many times, enriching the timbre of her songs. Because of that, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* becomes joyful and entertaining, full of different vocalizations including falsetto, breaking-sound, nasal-sound, and vibrato. Surely the particular vocalization has been the musical mark of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* for a long time before Choo's appearance; however, Choo took it to another dimension, in which the vocalization could be tearful as well as joyful.

b. Epaksa's Success in 2000

Epaksa (Dr. Lee) is the stage name of a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singer, Lee Yong-Sŏk (1954-). He used to be a highway bus-tour guide singer in South Korea for eleven years. As mentioned earlier in chapter five, the highway bus-tour has been a unique popular culture of South Korean adults since the 1980s. As the economy grew, adults, who used to be dedicated to working during their entire young years in the 1960s and 70s, began to go out touring the countryside in highway buses in the 1980s. Along with this culture, dancing in the highway bus became another working-class adult culture of South Korea. Consequently, danceable *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was invented for the adult dancing culture, called *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley or *dance t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. It consists of ten to twelve similar songs of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on the same rhythmic accompaniment, pseudo-disco. The rhythm should not be too complicated, nor too fast. Its beat is basically grounded upon a strong two-beat trot, instead of sixteen as in disco. Epaksa's first album was also made up of *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. His hit cassette tape, titled *Sinbaram Epaksa*, sold more than 400,000 copies.

In 1995, he signed a three-year contract with Sony. Since then, he has been recording in Japan, and he received "New Singer of the Year Award (*sininsang*)" from the Japanese Popular Music Awards in 1996, with his first album in Japan, *Ppongtchak paekkwa sajŏn* (Encyclopedia of Ppongtchak). Four years later in 2000, Epaksa returned to South Korea with his new album with Sony, *Space*

Fantasy. He incorporated old-fashioned *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley and highly updated musical concepts, such as techno rhythm. In doing so, he was known to invent a new type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, *techno ppongtchak* medley. The following is a part of Epaksa's monologue posted on the web:

> *Orori-i-hi-ii!,* I am a *ppongtchak kasu* (*t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer). If I may, I am the one who invented *techno ppongtack* for the first time in the world. Have you ever heard of *techno ppongtchak*? *Techno ppongtchak!* This unique genre incorporated Korean traditional *minyo* (folksong), *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, and techno rhythm in a fast tempo. The incessant repetition of electronic and mechanic sounds upon techno rhythm make people get excited, while melancholic *t'ŭrot'ŭ* melodies touch people's emotions. You may think that it's like wearing *yangbok* (Western suit) with *gat* (Korean traditional hat), or wearing *hanbok* (Korean traditional costume) with sunglasses. However, it is not! (http://www.myhome.hanafos.com/~epaksanim;http://2paksa.wo.to).

Epaksa uses two terms, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *ppongtchak*, without differentiation for this particular song style, as witnessed in most South Korean popular discourse. However, he prefers to use *ppongtchak*, in order to emphasize the meaning of his music, which is a Korean music for ordinary adults. In his music, Epaksa focused on the exciting rhythm, which should take people onto the dance floor:

> My *ppongtchak* is faster than any dance music. In addition, two-beat *t'ŭrot'ŭ* rhythm incessantly resonates like the beating of the heart, while I add short exclamatory words or phrases, which is similar to *chooim-sae* in *p'ansori*, such as "oho," "jo-o-ta," "michŏ-michŏ," and so forth. When I do this, people go crazy, clapping and thumping with their feet… (ibid.).

He intended it to be an extremely exciting dance song with this particular new

type of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley, which also reinforced the recent musical trends of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ*. As a result, *techno t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley acquired steady fans to be an independent subgenre of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley, even though its effects did not extend to the main *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ*. His performance style was too much for the majority of the older men and women to accept. As mentioned by Epaksa, his style was rather adopted by young rock singers like Polppalgan and Talp'aran.

Korean literature scholar Park Ae-Kyung has described Epaksa's music as a discrepant culture, which belonged neither to high culture, nor to low culture, but something new:

> *Ppongtchak* is known as the most suitable music to Koreans… Since its formulation in the 1920s, *ppongtchak* began to incorporate Korean traditional *minyo* (folksong). Then, it incorporated mambo, chachacha, jazz, blues, standard pop, rock and hip hop. Consequently, *ppongtchak* was westernized, cleaning up the Japanese pentatonic melodies. At this point, Epaksa experimented further with synthesizing unmatchable musical elements like *ppongtchak, minyo,* rock'n'roll, etc. Epaksa estranged the most familiar song style by combining with unmatchable musical elements, such as techno rhythm (Park 2000:89-90).

In other words, the history of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* is the assimilating process of all kinds of different musical elements. Epaksa extended the range of this synthesizing process, including teenagers' music, techno rhythm. In short, Epaksa's music helped transform *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley into a more cheerful and danceable song.

A TV talk show documented a recording process of medley. In the clip, female chorus singer Yu Chŏng accompanied another singer; they sang together in unison.

A few minutes later, the other singer blamed Yu Chŏng for dragging the entire mood. She was advised to try different songs she was very good at. Then, she began talking-singing with lots of nonsensical exclamatory words like "hi-hi," "ho-ho," "assa," "kwan'gwang kago (to go highway bus-tour)," and "ajumma nawabwa (come on, lady)." Usually, she adds these talking-singing interjections before and after the main singer's singing a phrase.

The talking-singing practice traces back to a Korean traditional folksong, *p'ansori*, in the late nineteenth century. *P'ansori*, a story-telling song, consists of one singer/narrator and one drummer. A singer/narrator sings (*sori*), narrates (*aniri*), and gestures with his/her hands (*palrim*), while a drummer plays the Korean traditional barrel-like drum (*puk*) and adds exclamatory words (*ch'uimsae*) to boost the singer's excitement. The obligatory words of *ch'uimsae* include "ŏlssigu," "jo-ta," and "hoi." Like the drummer of *p'ansori*, a chorus singer's role to boost the singer's excitement, while some medley singers like Epaksa incorporate both singing and adding exclamatory words in their work.

In sum, Epaksa played a role in speeding up the transformation of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley that Choo Hyun-Mi initiated two decades ago, a music of ecstasy. In contrast to those in the 1960s and 70s, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley became fast, cheerful, and exciting. According to the popular discourse, the ecstasy is called as *sin* (excitement) and *hŭng* (ecstasy). The former is closely related to traditional Korean shaman, while the latter is to the traditional Korean collective aesthetics

of commoners.

2. Making Sounds of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley

a. Production Process of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Tapes

As to the production of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes, experienced producer Chŏng described its entire process. First of all, a producer with a business mind should decide which songs should be recorded. In doing so, the producer has to decide who would be the main customer, which place would be the main market place, and so forth. As seen in the ethnographies regarding its marketplaces, the type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley is closely related to the marketplace and the customers. With this respect, producers are more important than singers in terms of making marketable sounds.

Second, after the paperwork regarding copyright is done, the producer requests a midi-instrumental tape for the sound engineers. The midi-instrumental tape is full of electronic/synthesized sounds with an incessant two-beat rhythm, in either fast or slow tempo. The midi-instrumentation should be simple, because the vocals are destined to be more important than the accompaniment in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

Then, the producer contacts the guitar and/or saxophone players who are well known for decorating the midi-instrumental tape with the guitar arpeggio solos and/or saxophone solos. Chŏng said that there was small number of specialists in

this field, and that they could create their solos in the moment, once they hear the midi-instrumental tape. In other words, the guitar and/or saxophone solos are patterned to embellish the midi-instrumental tape.

According to Chŏng, the guitar and/or saxophone rendition, along with the signers' vocal track, should produce *kkŭnjŏk kkŭnjŏk* (sticky sound). Chŏng emphasized that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley sound should not be so clean, because the cleanness may disturb the togetherness and the intimacy. Since its function is dance music, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley should not emphasize a clean sound quality but a danceable beat and exciting aura. In order to produce the so-called sticky sound, sound engineers add echo sound effects onto the vocals more often than not.

As for the exciting aura, producer Chŏng mentioned that the recording sounds of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes should reflect Korean traditional marketplace. He even introduced his own term for the sounds, *changbadak* sound, which literally means the sound of the Korean traditional marketplace. The following is the transcription of the interview with him:

> Chŏng: I was too ambitious about the sounds of the medley tapes. That's the reason for my failures in the previous medley productions. I should've followed the street rule.
> I: What do you mean by the street rule?
> Chŏng: The rule is the *changbadak* (place of the Korean traditional marketplace) sound. The sound should not be too sophisticated; the texture shouldn't be too thick; the tempo shouldn't be too slow; the vocal should be the loudest lead, while the accompaniment shouldn't be too loud, and so forth.
> I: Why do you use *changbadak* for this particular sound?
> Chŏng: It's because *chang* (Korean traditional marketplace) is one of the biggest marketplace for the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. If you want to get success with a *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

medley tape, you've got to succeed in that kind of marketplace—*chang*.

Producer Chŏng went on to point out how important the audiences' tastes were in the medley production. Previously He had a few unsuccessful business experiences with the medley production. According to him, the reason for the failure was his neglect of the audience's taste, which was *changbadak* sound. Whether he liked it or not, he had to assimilate this kind of sound into his medley production. Realizing the importance of the local tastes, he named this particular sounds with a term *changbadak* sound, associating it with its representative marketplace—*chang* (South Korean traditional marketplace).

For the detailed analysis, it is necessary to analyze a couple of musical examples. Surely these examples cannot represent the entire sound of the South Korean *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley songs, but these can describe what kinds of sounds have been produced in the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley market. The examples for the analysis are titled *Changwŏn t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley*, 2002 Medley*, and *Techno* Dance.

b. Case Studies

During the fieldwork, Chŏng handed to me two different *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley tapes and a CD of his own. Since the three consist of a typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, a disco *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley and a techno *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, respectively, I intend to explore them in detail below.

Changwŏn T'ŭrot'ŭ (a typical t'ŭrot'ŭ medley)

The title *Changwŏn* was named after the singer's name, Min Chang-Wŏn, and it is the typical type of slow-tempo *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. As mentioned, this type of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley is closely associated with older men or women. Thus, the album is composed of old-time hit songs or a combination of old-time hit songs and present hit songs. The case of *Changwŏn T'ŭrot'ŭ* is mostly organized with relatively old-time hit songs, which were released in the 1980s and 90s, and one present hit song, which reached number one in 2002, Cho Hang-Cho's "Namjaranŭn Iyuro (Simply because I'm a man)."

According to Chŏng, this slow-tempo *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley of old-time hits was designed for the aged customers who demanded nostalgia. Even the only present hit song expressed one of the traditional gender relationships in South Korea, which was a man's pain to get through hardship without crying. From a traditional perspective of gender relationships, the man is viewed as a strong leader of a family, who never cried out over any sorrow.

Changwŏn t'ŭrot'ŭ medley consists of 10 songs on each side. I examine the A side of the tape in detail. The following chart describes the song titles, themes, year of release of the original songs.

Song title	Theme	year of release of the original songs
Namjaranŭn iyuro (Simply because I'm a man)	The pain of a man who had gotten through hardship without crying for a long years	2002
Pogosip'ŭn Yŏin (The lady I miss)	A man who misses a parting lady who was once his lover	2002
Miss Ko	A man wondering where his lover might be	1988
Kohyangi Namjjogiraetchi (Wasn't his/her hometown in the South?)	Remembering a lover whose hometown is in the South	1995
Pinarinŭn P'anmunjŏm (Raining Panmunjom, the Joint Security Area between South and North Korea)	Lamenting the forced separation caused by the division of the two Koreas	2002
Mumyŏngch'o (Nameless Flower)	Metaphorically expresses his sorrow through the name of a flower	1988
Pongsŏnhwa yŏnjŏng (A Balsam Love)	A man's burning passion for his lover	1988
Jŏngttaemunae (Because of the heart)	The inability of a man to stop loving	1989
Andwaeyo Andwaeyo (No, I can't)	A man's begging his lover not to leave	1988
Jŏngjujianŭri (I am not going to give my heart away)	A man's decision not to love any more	1990

Table 4. *Changwŏn T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley Cassette, A Side: Song Titles, Themes, and Year of Release of the Original Songs

Thematically all the above songs are made upon sad stories, mostly about

parting lovers. However, the way the singer took the sadness was indirect and gracious. In order to express graciousness, the song texts utilized a few literary words like *tangsin* (you), *chŏng* (heart), and *yŏin* (lady). *Tangsin* is a respectful word for *nŏ*, meaning you; *chŏng* is a Korean ethno-aesthetics of loving, implying that it should be deeper than just love; and *yŏin* is a respectful word of *yŏja*, meaning woman. Most of the songs also use polite expressions with honorable suffixes like *–nikka?* and/or *–yo* in interrogative sentences.

Reflecting on the singer's gender, the songs mostly are about a man's painful monologue on the parting lover, except for "Pinarinŭn P'anmunjŏm (Raining *Panmunjŏm*), in a macho way. However painful was the sorrow inside, a man should not cry out, according to the Korean traditional engendering practices. In this light, the man in these songs is talking to himself, crying inside.

Meanwhile, there are a few more musical aspects to be mentioned regarding the recording sounds of the tape. Firstly, acoustic guitar and saxophone dual rendition is prominent in the entire cassette tape. An acoustic guitarist and a saxophonist embellish the songs, emulating the vocalizations like heavy vibrations and breaking sounds. According to Chŏng, the duet between guitar solo and saxophone solo plays the key role in making the aural essence of *t'ŭrot'ŭ.*

Second, the vocals are more important than the accompaniment. The volume ratio between vocals and accompanying sounds should be approximately 6:4,

reinforcing the vocals. According to Chŏng, the accompanying sounds should be as empty as possible so that the vocals are prominent. In addition, the vocals should be double-tracked with echo effects, in order to make it the focal point of the music. The double-tracked vocals with echo effects must be one of the most peculiar characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley recording. During the interview, I asked the producer why this type of recording practice had to be standardized:

> Chŏng: We have to produce a sticky sound, which is the so-called *changbadak sound* (marketplace-field sound). As *chang* (traditional marketplace) of ordinary people is the main market for *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, the aura of *chang* should be reflected in the recording sound. In other words, the sounds should not be so clean. The sounds may invoke adulterous dance hall, taking people to the dance floor and making them dance endlessly with the same rhythm…

As in a medley, there is no recess between different songs. Strictly speaking, one song composed of ten different songs occupies the whole side of the tape. Thus, the seamless rendition of ten different songs on the same rhythmic accompaniment contributes to the establishment of an aura that the ordinary adult men and women of *chang* demand. In the meantime, rhythmic selection also decides the crux of the entire musical effect. In this respect, each *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley is categorized by its rhythm, like *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley and *techno t'ŭrot'ŭ.*

Next, it is necessary to note the vocal recording process, which is the double-tracked recording. The medley singer records the same song twice in order to

make a rich and powerful vocal part. Meanwhile, the accompaniment is weak, compared with the double-tracked vocal production. The standard accompaniment consists of a small number of synthesizer sounds, which intentionally lack a couple of orchestral parts. According to the producer Chŏng, the empty sound of the accompaniment part represents the *changbadak sound*.

2002 Medley (*Disco T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley)

2002 Medley is a typical *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley album produced by Chŏng in 2002. Interestingly, it was a CD that was handed to me, instead of a typical cassette tape of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley. The reason for preferring CDs to cassette tapes was that it was geared to promote a newcomer's debut songs. As noted by producer Chŏng, the CD was a hybrid *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, utilizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley concept to promote a new singer's debut songs.

2002 Medley consists of the singer's new songs and the big names' hit songs. Since the singer did not have enough songs to make a new album, it was convenient to borrow big names' hit songs to fill out the rest of the album. Another reason to take the recording format of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was that the singer's own songs were aimed at the same customers as those of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley.

Song Title	Theme	Year of release of the Original Song
Taxian Sesang (World in a Taxi)	The World in a Taxi, where anything can be talked about	2002
Yagan Yŏlch'a (Midnight Train)	A man's lonely monologue in a midnight train, leaving the painful past behind	2000
Tungji (Nest)	A man's confident proposal to his lover	2000
Midŏbwayo (Please Trust Me)	A man's begging his lover to give him one more chance	2002
K'asŭbaŭi Yŏin (Lady of Kasba)	A relationship with a night-club dancer	2002
Haebaragikkot (Sunflower)	A man's sunflower-like unchanging love	2001
Sunbakhan Nae gohyang (My humble hometown)	Remembering his humble and innocent hometown	2002
Seoulŭ Pam (Night of Seoul)	An unforgettable night in Seoul, in which a man/woman met his/her lover, and then had to say good-bye	2002
Pogosipŏyo (I miss you)	A man missing his love	2002
Chasik Sarang (Love for Children)	A mother soothing her adult children's pain	2002
Kkotchŭltŭn Namja (A man with flowers)	A man expresses his happiness full of love	1999
Paramkat'ŭn Saram (Man/woman like a Wind)	A man/woman blames his parting lover	2002
Sigolch'onnom (Redneck)	A redneck's hardship in the big city life	2002
Tangdolhan Yŏja (Bold Woman)	A woman dares to flirt with a man	2002
Kkotparam Yŏin (Flower-like Lady)	A man's happiness with love	1996
Naesarangŭn Zero (My love is Zero)	A man blaming himself for being too shy	2002
Tumba Tumba	An old man soothes his wife's hard life of the past, promising his endless love	2000
Woerowŏ Maseyo (Don't be lonely)	A man easing his lover's loneliness	2002

Table 5. *2002 Medley*: Song Titles, Themes, and Released Years of the Original Songs

In contrast to *Changwŏn t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, *2002 Medley* begins with a strong Latin-beat percussion, followed by a splendid acoustic guitar solo of Latin-tinged melodies over a full orchestration. At the last minute of this prelude, there is even an electric guitar solo. However, once the singer begins singing, the rhythm settles down with the typical two-beat *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in a fast tempo, while the instrumentations are still combined with techno-like sounds. In short, *2002 Medley* can be categorized as a *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley because of its rhythmic rendition, in which the strong two beat is played fast enough to dance, and is supported by smaller beats.

The CD consists of a variety of song texts, from a typical *t'ŭrot'ŭ* theme, longing for the lost lover, to a quite modern attitude, a woman's explicit flirting. The thematic changes of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* should be one of the most noticeable characteristics of the contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. As its rhythm got faster since late 1980s, the themes changed to reflect the contemporary South Korean culture. Meanwhile, the double-tracked vocal preserves the essence of *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* like heavy vocal inflection, nasal sounds, and breaking sounds. In sum, as the most popular format of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, *disco t'ŭrot'ŭ, 2002 Medley* is composed of a strong two-beat with a variety of divided stylistic beats, while the singer performs with the traditional vocal techniques of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Techno Dance (*Techno T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley)

Techno Dance was also produced by Chŏng in 2000. It is a female singer's

t ʾŭrot ʾŭ medley, categorized as *techno t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley, which was originally boosted by Epaksa with Sony Records in 2000. The tape begins with a full techno sound and an extremely fast tempo, while keeping a sheer two-beat of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ*. Since it was geared to the younger customers, the tape even contained a DJ's short lines in English like "I wanna dance with you," "ye-ye-ye," "dance with me," and so forth.

The first song of each side of the tape is the singer's new song, while the others are hit songs of big names. Since its rhythm is so fast, the vocalist does not use the traditional vocal embellishment very much. The double-tracked female singer only uses breaking sounds whimsically a few times.

Song Title	Theme	Release Year of the Original Song
Maejŏnghan Saram (Heartless Man)	A woman blames the parting lover	2002
Nebakcha (Four Beat)	A four-beat song that can express the story of life	1998
Ch'ŏtch'a (First Train/Highway bus)	A woman taking the first train to leave her lover	1986
Yalmiun Saram (Detestable Man)	A woman talking about her parting lover	1989
Noran Sonsugŏn (Yellow Handkerchief)	Waving a yellow handkerchief to welcome a lover who once left him/her	1992
Namhaeng Yŏlch'a (South-bound Train)	A woman's monologue about her first love in a South-bound train	1989
Yŏja, Yŏja, Yŏja (Woman, Woman, Woman)	A fragile and lonely woman who is waiting for a man's love, even though they sometimes hurt her heart	1992
Ch'an, Ch'an, Ch'an	A one-night stand without love	1992
Silt'a Sirŏ (I really don't like it)	A man regretting his painful love	1990

Param, Param, Param (Wind, wind, wind)	A man's waiting for his lover, saying that she is like the wind	1991

Table 6. *Techno Dance*: Song Title, Themes, and Released Years of the Original Songs

Considering its function as dance (particularly techno dance) music, the repertory of the tape is organized on the basis of its sonic and rhythmic profile, rather than the textual themes. The excitement and playful aura may be more important than the meaning of the song; thus, most of the songs have funny titles like "Nebakcha (containing funny sounds in the song text like *kung-tchak, kung-tch-tchak*)," "Ch'ŏtch'a," "Yŏja, Yŏja, Yŏja," "Ch'an, Ch'an, Ch'an," and "Param, Param, Param."

Conclusion

With the help of cassette tape technology, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley was invented as a local musical product in South Korea in the 1980s. It is worthwhile noting the particular product, not only because it contributed to forming local identities positioned in the local market places, but also because it played a key role in changing the entire musical direction of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In the wake of the huge success of a few female *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singers, contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became rhythmically faster, thematically light-hearted, and sonically playful.

Examining the recording sounds of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, there are a few

standardized characteristics to be mentioned. First of all, a *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley is composed of a seamless rendition of different songs upon the same rhythmic accompaniment, thereby maintaining the same emotional aura for the entire album. *T ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley can be categorized according to its rhythmic selection, such as *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley of typical two-beat rhythm in slow tempo, *disco t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley of two-beat oriented disco rhythm in a relatively fast tempo, and *techno t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley of techno rhythm in an extremely fast tempo; each *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley is closely associated with different age groups like older adults, middle-age adults and younger groups, respectively. Second, the vocal mostly is generally double-tracked with echo effects that underscore the melodic lines, rather than rhythmic or harmonic accompaniments. In addition, the vocals are embellished with the typical vocalization of *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ*, including heavy inflections and breaking sounds.

Thus, the negotiating process between local tastes and local music businessmen invented a particular local culture, *t ʾŭrot ʾŭ* medley, in South Korea, not unlike Berry Gordy in the United States who formulated a new musical genre, Motown, compromising with local tastes of Detroit in the late 1950s (Campbell and Brody1999:124). Even though it is often criticized as a cheap commodity cheating on musical sincerity and creativity, the medley production contributed to de-centralizing the multi-national music industry in South Korea in the 1990s and 2000s, re/presenting local identity of South Korean adults.

Chapter Six: Traditionalizing the Practice of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

Recently *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been called *chŏnt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song) in South Korean popular discourse, an ironical name given the debates over its nationality in the 1970s and the 80s. During the Cold War period and even after, many South Koreans criticized all the cultural products formulated during the Japanese colony, asserting that they should construct the authentic Korean culture solely on the basis of Korean tradition. In other words, due to its formulation in the Japanese colony, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was always stigmatized as a colonial remnant that must be discarded. However, it is now the so-called traditional Korean popular song style in public discourse. Thus, the meaning of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has changed over time, interacting with the circumstantial forces like political dynamics and economic reasons.

For instance, replacing dictatorship by the first civilian president in 1992 helped liberate *t'ŭrot'ŭ* from being a Japanese colonial vestige. As noted by Howard, political freedom since 1992 was mirrored in the popular music production in South Korea (2002:89). Rather *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became a symbolic composite of many social values, particularly traditional Korean social values. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* was traditionalized as a Korean popular culture in which traditional Korean norms and values were embodied. In addition, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers are symbolically coated with the images of the true Koreans who are following the traditional norms such as *hyo* (filial duties), *kŭnmyŏn* (diligence), *innasim*

(perseverance), and *chinjiham* (sincerity). The singers perform traditional Korean norms: they wear formal suits and/or traditional Korean costumes expressing their respect to the audience; they bow deeply and gently to the audience out of respect before and after (even in the middle of) the performance; they also try to describe their sincerity and integrity as good Koreans in many different ways like posting their decency on the web, performing at charity concerts for the elders, and so forth. Thus, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* acquired its *enhanced use value* as the traditional Korean popular song style, incorporating bodily practices of traditional Korean values.

As to the social memory of the past, Paul Connerton has argued:

> We may say that our experiences of the present largely depend upon our knowledge of the past, and that our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order. And yet these points, though true, are as they stand insufficient when thus put. For images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past, I want to argue, are conveyed and sustained by (more or ritual) performances (1989: 3-4).

People remember the past through both recollection and bodily performance, and commemorate it likewise. In this case study, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is remembered and practiced as a traditional Korean popular song style, incorporating certain bodily performances linked to traditional Korean norms like wearing traditional Korean costumes, bowing gently and deeply, and having charity concerts for the elders.

In chapter six, I examine how *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is positioned as the traditional Korean popular song style. The first half is dedicated to analyzing the reproduction

process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as well as its images in certain contexts, such as festivals/ song contests, local song contests, and fan-club communities. The latter half of the chapter is an analysis of the performance practice of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on stages, such as TV shows and local events. I focus on the bodily performances engaged in the performance of the song style that convey traditional Korean values.

I. Re-Producing *T'ŭrot'ŭ* and Its Images

1. Festivals/Song Contests

There are a number of festivals in South Korea named after famous songwriters or singers of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. For instance, *Nanyŏng Kayoje* was titled after the great female singer Lee Nanyŏng (1916-65); *Nam In-Su Kayoje* after the great male singer Nam In-Su (1921-62); *Pae Ho Kayoje* after the singer Pae Ho (1942-71); and *Un-Bong Kayoje* after the singer Ko Un-Bong (1920-2001). The festivals, as commemorative ceremonies, are mostly hosted either by private organizations that commemorate the particular musicians, or by local broadcasting stations of the regions in which the musicians were born. The festivals were not programmed only for commemorating the late musicians, however, but also for establishing the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* itself as a traditional Korean song style and producing new *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers who conform to the images conveyed in the festivals. The followings are two case studies of the festivals.

a. *Nam In-Su Kayoje* (Nam In-Su Song Contest)

Nam In-Su was one of the first-generation singers of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, who had his heyday in the 1930s and the 40s. Today, there is a festival/song contest named after him, called *Kayo Hwangje Nam In-Su Kayoje* (Song Festival for the Emperor of Popular Song Nam In-Su).[61] It has been hosted by a private association cherishing the late singer Nam In-Su, *Kayo Hwangje Nam In-Su Sŏnsaeng Kinyŏm Saŏphoe* (Commemorative Business-Association of Emperor of Popular Song, Sir. Nam In-Su,), since a decade ago.

I attended its thirteenth festival on a Sunday afternoon, April 13th, 2003. It was held at an outdoor concert hall in the Children Grand Park in Seoul. The pictures below are the stage, the audience, and the waiting room, respectively.

Picture 11. The Stage of the 13th Nam In-Su Festival

[61] In what follows in this dissertation, Nam In-Su Festival will be used for the title of this festival.

Picture 12. The Audience of the 13th Nam In-Su Festival

Picture 13. The Waiting Room of the 13th Nam In-Su Festival

The festival began with Korean traditional dance *salp'uri* because the late Nam In-Su was known to have a strong affection to the dance. Then, the host read a poem about the late Nam In-Su, while the audience observed a moment of silence. The beginning part of the festival was designed to be an authoritative commemorative ceremony for the late Nam In-Su. Thus, the initial ceremony contributed to traditionalizing the festival, which eventually traditionalized the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

As both a commemorative festival and a song contest, the festival consisted of professional *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers' performances followed by an amateur song contest. Among the professional singers were established artists and young new faces. Their activities in the backstage were different. Big name singers were invited to the festival only for the performance, while the younger ones came for different reasons, like guiding the older singers, and serving food to the performers. Even though the junior singers could not perform in the festival, they were, out of respect, willing to participate in the event as helpers. During an interview, a young female singer mentioned that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was different from other song styles, because she, as a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer, always followed the respectful order between *sŏnbae* (the elders) and *hubae* (the younger ones). In other words, the relationship between singers of different ages reflects the traditional values embedded in the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

The traditionalization of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* extended to the costumes of the singers, as seen in the picture of the waiting room (Picture 13). Female singers mostly wore the Korean traditional costume *hanbok*, while men preferred Western suits. As could be seen in most formal ceremonies like weddings and funerals, men's Western suits and women's *hanboks* have been formalized, expressing dignity and respect in the modern South Korean culture. In this case, female singers' wearing *hanboks* conformed to the traditional values of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, reinforcing its Koreanness.

The audience of the festival was mostly composed of senior citizens and middle-aged people (Picture 12). As the excitement increased, a group of old men came to the front yard right below the stage and danced along with the music, while the rest of the audience clapped together. They shared the togetherness through this particular song style, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Then, the sharing of emotion was followed by a sharing of ethics, which was an award ceremony for the singers who successfully performed one of the Korean traditional virtues, *sŏnhaeng* (good conduct). The awards for the good conduct implied that bodily performance of traditional morals should be considered as important as the sonic performance, particularly as far as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is concerned.

Meanwhile, the reproduction of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* took place in the song contest of the very festival. The participants were diverse: two high-school boys sang contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs; three middle-aged men imitated the late Nam In-

Su's vocals; one young woman sang a pop-ballad; and a few women sang *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The participants had already passed through the first and the second rounds to make the final, which was the song contest of the festival. The two finalists were given the certificates to be professional singers by *Han'guk Yŏnye Hyŏphoe Kasu Pun'gwa Wiwŏnhoe* (Korean Entertainment Association Singer's Subcommittee).

In sum, Nam In-Su festival/song contest was a field of reproducing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. It began with a commemorative ceremony for the late Nam In-Su, establishing the foundation of traditionalizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Then, the whole festival was geared to traditionalizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, incorporating bodily performances of traditional Korean values, such as respectful relationship between senior and junior singers, traditional Korean costumes of female singers, and award ceremony for the singers' good conduct. Finally, it wrapped up with a song contest, in which new *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers were produced, conforming to the images that the festival created.

a. *Che-1-Hoe Taehanmin'guk T'ŭrot'ŭ Kayoje* (The 1st Korea Trot Song Festival[62])

Che-1-Hoe Taehanmin'guk T'ŭrot'ŭ Kayoje (The 1st Korea Trot Song Festival) was held at a district assembly-hall in Seoul on April 20, 2003. Its host was a fan club cherishing the legendary singer Pae Ho, *Pae Ho Kinyŏm Saŏphoe* (Pae Ho Commemoration Association). The picture below is a scene of a contestant's

[62] Since the pamphlet of the festival contained its English title, The 1st Korea Trot Song Festival, I will use it in this dissertation.

performance of the festival.

Picture 14. The Stage of the 1st Korea Trot Song Festival

The festival also began with an initial ceremony with two congratulatory addresses of the host and the district assemblyman of the festival area. Both the host and the assemblyman addressed that the mission of the festival should be remembering the late Pae Ho and, at the same time, producing new talented *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers. The festival was another exemplary arena, in which traditionalizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was fueled with commemorating a legendary figure.

Unlike Nam In-Su Festival, the 1st Korea Trot Song Festival focused on the song contest, in which there were two categories, children and adults. Since

children's singing an adult song style, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, was not an ordinary combination, a few major television stations and Internet-broadcasting stations dispatched their crews to document the festival. The winner of the children's category was a high school boy who had been working for a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* website. His family traveled all the way from Pusan (a harbor city in the southeast area) to Seoul to support him. Thus, the high school student and his family were very serious about the contest, believing that this song style would not fade away.

Most of the contestants in the adult category sang hit songs of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, while two contestants debuted their own songs. Their attitude was very serious to the extent that it took more than two hours for the rehearsal. During the rehearsal, I witnessed an argument between the bandleader and a contestant regarding a rhythmic rendition. The interviews below explain why they were so serious about the contests.

I: Is there any particular reason why you're participating in this festival?
Contestant 1: Just for fun, first of all, but who knows? Anybody can be successful in *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. We don't have to be pretty or rich.
Contestant 2: We have plenty of big figures that succeeded late in their careers like Hyŏn Ch'ŏl, Tae Jin-A, and so forth.
Contestant 3: If you want to succeed in dance music, you have to spend a lot of money for the promotion alone. You can't even imagine the amount. However, you can succeed in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with little money. People want good people, not pretty ones.

Ultimately, most contestants wished to be professional *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singes, even though they did not have marketable requisites like good looks and musical

talent. They were varied in terms of ages and occupations: one was an aspiring singer in his late twenties, another a housewife in her thirties, and a police officer in his forties. They believed that they could succeed and become professional singers as long as they were good and sincere persons. They even asserted that only matured persons could sing better, because *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is all about life.

As a matter of fact, there have been a number of big figures in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* who succeeded late in their careers. Looking at a few of them, musical talent and/or good looks were less important than their images as good and sincere persons. For instance, Hyŏn Suk, a female singer, achieved a huge fame after her story of taking care of her ill parents for many years was nationally broadcasted. Since then, she was often called *hyonyŏ kasu* (a nice daughter singer). The singer got her musical fame by practicing the traditional Korean ethos in her private life. It was possible because most *t'ŭrot'ŭ* listeners were senior citizens and middle-aged adults whose minds were deeply embedded in the traditional Korean moral. Thus, the traditional virtue has been encoded as an essential requisite of a good *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer.

Another case is Hyŏn Ch'ŏl. He became famous in his late forties, even though he had already had a career in music for more than twenty years. Besides his musical talent, his persevering effort finally received the reward from the listeners. His resilient striving was praised as a good conduct, according to the traditional East Asian ethos. The following is a description of the persevering

images seen in the Japanese song style *enka*.

> There are many [*enka*] singers who go for twenty or thirty years without a big hit. For example, K. Y., who has been in the business now for twenty years, continues along in her career doggedly promoting her songs as if on a small, local train bound for the provinces [i.e., on a slow train going nowhere]. Another example is F.T., who is giving a full recital [which would take a certain minimum amount of popularity to stage and book] for the first time after twenty-eight years in the business. These singers never take a rest. They persevere, and never get that big break. However, their perseverance itself becomes an aspect which eventually wins the support of the public (Yano 1997:123).

Most amateurs of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* believed that their perseverance could, in the end, achieve public support, as in these previous cases. The contestants of the festival seriously and relentlessly participate in different kinds of festivals, hoping that their persevering images gain the public applause. In short, the song contest reproduced *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers as well as their traditional images, which is good and persevering persons, linked to traditional Korean values.

2. Local Song Contests

There are a number of local song contests in South Korea. These local contests are amateurish to the extent that their mission is not competition, but the gathering itself. The contests, prioritizing the togetherness, function as commemorative ceremonies upholding the traditional Korean ethos. In doing so, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* comprises the major repertories of the contests and plays a great role in performing the traditional Korean values.

a. *Chŏn'guk Norae Charang* (National Song Contest)

Chŏn'guk Norae Charang (National Song Contest)[63] is a long-running TV show, aired at noon every Sunday through KBS. CNC is programmed with a regional first round every week, a semifinal every half year, and the final on the New Year's Day of the following year. Since most contestants are amateurs, CNC is known as a representative entertaining program for the ordinary South Korean people, particularly in the rural areas. It is mostly held on a temporarily constructed open-air stage. Sometimes, it is also held in a public gymnasium or an assembly hall. Regardless, the setting of the stage is never fancy or sophisticated but is always humble and ordinary, because the show is geared for the ordinary people.

The host is a well-known comedian, Song Hae, who is in his seventies. The accompanying band, composed of a simple orchestral instrumentation, travels all over the nation with the famous host. The bandleader is also an aged man. The host's role in this contest is not only hosting the program, but also talking with the contestants about everyday life. More often than not, the host addresses the special agricultural products of the region like rice, apple, pear, and ginseng. The host plays a role in arousing nationalistic sentiments by repeatedly praising rural lives and agricultural products of the regions. In other words, the nationalism of the show is constructed through incorporating the regionalism. As seen in the old

[63] CNC will be used below as an abbreviation of this song contest.

saying *sint'oburi* (body and soil cannot be separated), rural lives and agricultural products symbolize the roots of the people, which is the nation.

In addition, this particular idea of nationhood extends to the traditional ethos of South Korea, such as *hyo* (filial duty), *kŭnmyŏn* (diligence), and perseverance. The following is a transcription of the conversation between the show host and a young female contestant at a regional contest on the fourth Sunday of February in 2003.

> Host: How old are you?
> Contestant: twenty-one years old.
> Host: Do you have any siblings?
> Contestant: Yes, I have one little brother, and he was killed in a car accident one month ago.
> Host: I am so sorry. We have to drive carefully to avoid this kind of tragedy. Your parents must be very sad now.
> Contestant: Yes, because of my brother's death, my parents have been very depressed. So, I came here to cheer them up.
> Host: What a brave daughter you are! You are absolutely right. You should encourage your parents. Which song do you want to sing for them today?
> Contestant: For my father, I want to sing "*App'aŭi Ch'ŏngch'un* (The young days of My Dad)." Dad! Cheer up!

The conversation was followed by a scene of the audience's weeping and clapping. The camera focused on a few old ladies in the audience who wiped the tears on their cheeks. It was such an emotional moment, at which everybody including home viewers of CNC shared the sadness of the loss of the contestant's brother. The contestant, in the end, received the second prize of the contest.

During the award ceremony at the end of the contest, the host again praised her filial spirit and efforts to be a good daughter. The prize was not only an award for her musical capability but also a reward for her being a good daughter, a traditional Korean value.

Each CNC consists of four different awards, such as *in'gisang* (Popularity Award), *changryŏsang* (Third prize), *ususang* (Second prize), and *ch'oeususang* (First prize). The criteria of the awards except *in'gisang* are generally grounded on the contestants' musical capabilities, as in any other song contest However, *in'gisang* depends on the audience's votes. In fact, there is no system for the audience's voting, but the judges are supposed to reflect the audience's reactions to each contestant. As a result, *in'gisang* awardees are either funny or lovable. For instance, two contestants received the award on February 22nd in 2003: a young lady and a middle-aged blind man. During the award ceremony, the host commented the reasons they received the award, as seen in the transcription below. In short, the rewarding practice symbolizes valuing traditional ethos over musical capability.

Host: Today, we have two awardees for *in'gisang*. The first person is the lady who performed very cheerfully and gave us so much fun.

[Then, a funny-looking lady wearing a ridiculous dress came to the stage, and bowed.]

Host: The next person is a sincere citizen who endured his disability as a blind man. Let's give him a big applause.

[Then, a middle-aged blind man with a guide walked to the stage.]

Meanwhile, the sense of community established by the program was eventually linked to the traditional values of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The repertories of the contestants and the guest singers mostly consist of contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. Sometimes, the show features very little known regional *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, who have never been on national television before. Thus it seems that the singers' fame may be less important than their song style. As long as they sing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, their popularity does not matter very much. In other words, CNC can be seen as an amateur song contest for *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, in which the particular song style is symbolically coated with traditional Korean ethos through bodily performances. In this contest, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became traditionalized as the Korean song style, through which ordinary Korean people share traditional values and national pride.

b. *Tongttara Noraettara*(According to Neighbors, According to Songs)

There are a number of local singing competitions of popular music in South Korea. *Tongttara Noraettara* (According to Neighbors, According to Songs)[64] is one of the local song contests, sponsored by a cable company, C&M (Cable & Multimedia). C&M hosts multiple local singing competitions in Seoul, and TN, as one of them, is held for those who reside in a particular area, *Jungrang-gu* (Northern province of Seoul). The competition is aired through a local cable channel only in that area.

[64] TN will refer to this local song contest in this dissertation.

I attended TN at 3 o'clock on June 6th, 2003. It was held in a gymnasium of a public elementary school, *chunghŭng ch'odŭng hakkyo*. As in any singing contest, the judges of this contest included a politician and the assemblyman of the region. Since local singing competitions are usually very popular among South Korean adults like housewives and local merchants, who are the voters, the place is often utilized for politicians to improve their popularity. The assemblyman even shook my hand with a big smile, assuming that I was one of the residents of the area. The politician tried to establish an emotional bondage with the voters through this song contest. In a sense, TN was not just a song contest, but also a political field in which different persons with different agendas negotiate for their own sakes.

The competition was conducted in a heavily family-oriented environment. Everybody seemed to know each other's name and face. As shown in the title of the contest, everybody was one another's neighbor. The following is a dialogue between two women in the audience.

A: How are you? How is your store doing?
B: It's all right, as usual. Are you going to sing today?
A: No, I came to see. I didn't know we had this kind of event in our neighborhood.
B: Neither did I. But I heard about it last week, and I came here to see what's going on. It is wonderful. It's like the picnic that we used to go when we were students. Isn't it?
A: Yes, I can get rid of my everyday life stress.

The event, as a local gathering, played a role in producing togetherness among

the neighbors. People in the event shared a sense of neighborliness. Most of the audience were middle-aged housewives, and some of them even brought their children or grandchildren with them. While singers performed on the stage, some of the kids ran all around the place. The following pictures document TN's stage and audience, respectively.

Picture 15. The Stage of *Tongttara Noraettara*

Picture 16. The Audience of *Tongttara Noraettara*

The neighborliness of the event was fueled by the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. During the entire competition, the audience clapped along with the music. Since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is in duple meter, it was very easy for the audience to clap following the two-beat rhythm. The clapping was sometimes extremely loud, to the extent that it interfered listening to the individual songs. Nonetheless, the audience, including the contestants, valued the sharing of emotions through the competition. In short, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* became more functional than any other song style in terms of producing neighborliness and togetherness, and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, at the same time, was functionally coded as the Korean song style through bodily performances in the family-like festivity like clapping and sharing neighborliness.

3. Internet Fan Clubs

During my fieldwork in 2002-2003, I could easily notice that South Korea, as a highly IT-oriented country, established a remarkably wide network on the web. For instance, whenever I interviewed professional singers, they always mentioned their own homepages and/or Internet broadcasting stations. Since *t'ŭrot'ŭ* does not have a lucrative market, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, particularly young artists, have difficulties in promoting their songs through the conventional major broadcasting practices like TV and radio. Like most countries, the South Korean TV and radio programs have been geared toward the teens lately. For this reason, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers have turned to a different media—the Internet.

In addition, as Park Joong-ha said, the thirty seven-year-old CEO of one of the first South Korean Internet broadcasting companies, the capabilities of the Internet include its interactivity and mass accessibility (Newsreview, August 2, 1997). Through their own websites and Internet broadcastings, the singers promote their new songs and their images independently and economically. In what follows, I examine two different kinds of Internet promotion websites such as the Internet broadcasting station *T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana* (always *t'ŭrot'ŭ*) and professional singers' own websites, Sul Woon-Do and Park Sang-Chul (Pak Sang-Ch'ŏl). Then, I interrogate fan-based Internet communities such as *Nasamo* (Fan-club for Na Hoon-A's songs).

a. Promotional Internet Websites

T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana (always *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: www.trotjana.co.kr)

T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana (always *t'ŭrot'ŭ*: www.trotjana.co.kr) is one of the representative Internet broadcasting stations specializing in *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in South Korea. When I contacted the producer Park, he gave me an appointment. The following is the first dialogue with Park in February 2003.

Park: How did you know my phone number?
I: When I searched on *t'ŭrot'ŭ* through the Internet in the United States, I happened to come across your Internet broadcasting station. And, I got your phone number through its homepage.
Park: How wonderful! This is the power of the Internet! Anybody from anywhere can share the information and the feeling of our *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.
I: What does the name of the station *T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana* mean?
Park: I'm sure you know the Korean idiom *chana-kkaena* (all the time). I took *chana* from there, in order to emphasize the permanence of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.
I: What do you think *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is?
Park: I don't know anything about it. All I am doing with the Internet broadcasting station is promoting *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers. This is a PR station.
I: How do you manage the station?
Park: There is an operating fee paid by the singers for their promotion.

T'ŭrot'ŭ Chana, as an alternative broadcasting station, is dedicated to promoting new faces of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* through the Internet. Anybody who pays the fee can post his or her personal profiles and new songs on the web. Interestingly, the singers are willing to give their music away for free, because their goal was not to sell CDs, but to let people identify their faces and music. Basically, *t'ŭrot'ŭ*

singers' major incomes depend on their performances in live shows like nightclubs and local festivals (Im Sŏng-Hun'gwa Hamkke, June 30, 2003).[65] Unlike most markets of popular music, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* still relies upon the old-fashioned live performances, rather than mediated products like CDs. Basically, the new *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers utilized the Internet broadcasting to sell their live performance afterwards.

In sum, it was an irony, at first, for such a traditional song style as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to incorporate a highly modern technology like Internet broadcasting. But, the Internet broadcasting of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* functions not just delivering information but sharing nostalgic emotions. It is programmed for those who want to share their musical experience of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Additionally, Internet broadcasting eventually contributed to promoting new singers in the local live shows.

Music & Life, Park Sang Chul (www.parksc.com)

Park Sang Chul was one of the rising stars of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* during 2003. When I attended a TV show in March 2003, I noticed that Park had quite a few fans. At least forty women screamed his name before and after his performance. They were mostly housewives, and they also brought balloons and large fliers to support him. They were either members of *norae-kyosil* (a local singing class) or

[65] Cassette tape production of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley is exceptional, because medley is mostly not a musical product of new songs of new faces.

members of Park's Internet homepage. Here I focus on the latter.

Music & Life, Park Sang Chul is the title of Park's Internet homepage. The website delivers a story of Park's hard life as an unknown singer, his music and photos, chat boards, and *site pds*. Among them, the most interesting sections were the chat board and the *site pds*. The chat board allows fans to communicate with the singer himself. It maximized the interactivities that a CEO of a South Korean Internet broadcasting company pointed out as a strong capability of the Internet (Newsreview, August 2, 1997). Through the chat boards, the relationships between the fans and the singer became personalized, and the fans finally came out to the concert to support the singer. The fans, mostly housewives, considered the singer as their own son or nephew. The interactivities extend to the *site pds*. The following is the headline of the site:

> If any of you send a message requesting Park Sang-Chul's music to each program of the following TV and radio stations, it would be a great help for Park. I would sincerely like to ask for your participation and attention, please. Only you can make a new-generation *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer, Park Sang-Chul, a big star (http://parksc.com/php_bin/index.php3?inc=site.pds_1).

The website accumulates a personal relationship between the singer and the members, and then implores them to participate in promoting the singer actively. Thus, the homepage of a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer is organized to produce a family-like relationship, utilizing the interactivities of the Internet.

Sul Woon-Do (www.sulwoondo.co.kr)

Sul Woon-Do got his first big break when he sang in the national campaign for the reunion of separated family members in 1983. Due to the Korean Civil War in 1953, a number of families were separated all over the country. The campaign hoped to reunite those who had been separated during the Korean War. According to a research, there were 100,952 entries, and more than 500 families were reunited through this campaign (kr.encycl.yahoo.com). The TV broadcasting of the campaign reached a rating 78 % of the entire television viewers in South Korea. Consequently, one of the theme songs, "Irŏbŏrin samsipnyŏn (Lost Thirty Years)" by Sul Woon-Do gained national popularity. Since then, Sul Woon-Do continued to reach out to the separated families, even though his subsequent songs were not related to the issue. On his personal homepage on the web, Sul Woon-Do stated that the homepage is for those who love *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, and those who have their home in North Korea. His concert on the Chinese New Year's day in 2004 was titled *Muŭit'ak Isan Kajok Topki* (A Charity for Lonely Separated Families). In short, Sul Woon-Do expresses his sincerity to the people who gave him the fame at first.

On this homepage, Sul Woon-Do posts personal stories of his hard life and his family. Through the stories, he epitomizes his philosophies about family love, sincerity, filial duties, and perseverance of life, dealing with them as the essential elements of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Sul Woon-Do presents himself as a mature

adult who strived through all kinds of hardships in his entire life, and who could perfectly express the real aesthetics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

b. Fan Clubs

Nasamo (www.rok.co.kr)

Nasamo, an abbreviated name of *Na Hoon-A Noraerŭl Saranghanŭn Saramdŭlŭi Moim* (A group of those who love Na Hoon-A's music), is a fan-based gathering organized and run by the fans themselves. The gathering was originated as a cyber-meeting through the Internet, and then established as a real assembly afterwards. The membership reached over 2,000 people nationwide, according to the regional president of Seoul, Kim Kwang-Sŏk.

The following picture describes their small gathering on February 22nd, 2003. The members invited the songwriter of the early hit songs of Na Hoon-A, Park Chŏng-Ung, to their gathering.

Picture 17. A Gathering of a Fan Club, *Nasamo*

As seen in the picture, the members were mostly aged between mid-thirties and mid-forties. Their occupations were varied, such as the owner of a *noraebang* (room for karaoke singing), local singers, factory worker, farmer, and merchant. Additionally, as noted by a member of the fan club, their hometown was not Seoul, but small towns in the countryside of Korea.

> A member of the fan club: We are countrymen (*ch'onnom*). We were born and raised in the countryside, even though we're living in this cold city Seoul now. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* is a countrymen's song. As you know, the king of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Na Hoon-A was originally a countryman.
>
> Songwriter, Park Chŏng-Ung: You are right! Whenever anyone came to me to learn *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, I used to ask about his/her hometown.

As said by the member of the club, those who have nostalgic feelings of their hometown got together to comfort themselves by listening to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The man went on to explain that the fan club was organized by those who love this music, not those who love the singer. In addition, the members initially built the network through the impersonal Internet site, which then developed into a personal community. On the very day of the gathering, the members ate, sang, and talked, spending more than five hours together. In short, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is not based upon the star system any more, but traditionalizing images of the song style itself.

II. Performing *T'ŭrot'ŭ* On Stages

1. Television Shows

South Korean television programs contain a number of concert-type shows that feature popular music on national channels. In the case of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, there are four different shows dedicated to the particular song style, while other shows also include the song style as their main repertory. The three representative television stations of South Korea (KBS, MBC, SBS) and a local station (*i*TV) have produced their own special programs only for *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* aimed at the adults over thirty. Since the television shows are the main visual media through which the images of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* have been positioned as a traditional Korean song style, it is necessary to analyze the television concerts. In doing so, I examine the performance practices of the shows, and at the same time the discourses posted on their Internet homepages. Since July 1997, most of the South Korean television programs have provided their own Internet broadcasting with supplementary services like opinion board, advertisements, and so forth (Newsreview August 2,1997). As a result, the tremendous accessibility and interactivity of the Internet services enhanced the intimate relationships between the listeners/viewers and the performers/producers (ibid.). Subsequently, the producers are subject to the responses of the listeners/viewers on the web, posting their mission statements of the programs. In short, the arena of the contemporary television shows includes

the interactions between the listeners/viewers and performers/ producers on the web.

a. *Kayo Mudae* (Popular Song Stage)

Kayo Mudae (Popular Song Stage), a one-hour TV concert, has been aired at 10:00 PM on every Monday through KBS for decades. It is the only TV show specializing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs of old times.[66] Subsequently, the projected listeners are the elders and the show is programmed in a respectful way. The following is an advertisement of the show, which is posted on the Internet homepage of the show (www.kbs.co.kr/popup/1tv/gayo/images/img_01.gif).

[66] The repertories of the show sometimes contain a variety of songs of old times such as ballads and *t'ong-guitar* music (South Korean youth music in the early 1970s). However, they mostly belong to *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

It's the show every parent in Korea wants to attend to!
KBS "Kayo Mudae" gets closer to the viewers
through the Internet tickets.

In order to receive your tickets via mail
You should request your favorite song with a story
on the Kayo Mudae hompage ticket request section.

The internet tickets to the show will be an invaluable
present for parents and elders…

Picture 18 & Example 12. An Advertisement of *Kayo-Mudae* Tickets

The advertisement is designed for free tickets of the concert, titled "KBS Kayo-Mudae Hyo Pangch'ŏnggwŏn (*Hyo* Tickets of KBS *Kayo-Mudae*)." The free ticket promotion of the show is, for sure, meant to support the concert itself. However, the process of the free ticket promotion implies the social values that the show reinforces and, at the same time, utilizes. The free ticket is not given away to anyone who applies, but only to those who send stories conforming to the criteria. One of the criteria can be revealed in the title of the promotion—*hyo*. *Hyo* is the traditional Korean ethos of filial duty, drawn from the Confucian philosophy. As seen in the advertisement, the free tickets are supposedly given to those who want to go to the concert with their parents or elders. In short, the free ticket promotion is a way of expression by which the TV show reinforces certain social values, in order to, particularly, conform to the listeners' ethos—the traditional

Korean ethos *hyo*.

Maximizing the mission of the advertisement, the contents of the advertisement are written with extremely honorific expressions like *ŏrŭsin* (the elders) and many honorific suffixes. Those polite words were mostly used in old times, even though they are still used these days. Since the free ticket promotion targets the elders, the advertisement subsequently contained honorific expressions of the past, presumably because the elders prefer such traditional expressions.

In addition, the particular show functions as a social cement reinforcing traditional values by introducing certain stories during the show. The following is a transcription of a part of the story-telling sections (Kayo-Mudae, January 2003)

> The host: Next story has been sent by an old lady who has been suffering from her illness for a long time. She requested this song because she wants to thank her patient husband for taking care of her, even though he was also sick and old….[The host reads her letter.]
> The host: Next story came from China. The man who wrote the letter, a Korean-Chinese, used to work in South Korea two years ago. After the economic crisis in South Korea, he had to come back to his home in China without getting paid for the last couple of months. However, a year later, he received a letter with money from the former boss of the company in South Korea. The man was deeply moved, and sent a letter to this show to thank the honest and sincere boss…[Camera focuses on the boss among the audience.]
> The host: This story was written by an old soldier who wants to find his comrade during the military services in the 1970s….[The camera focuses on the old picture of the soldiers.]

All the stories were, by all means, involved in the traditional Korean ethos like *jŏng* (Korean sentiment) and *ŭiri* (justice; faithfulness). The show host reads

stories several times before different singers' performances, through which each song is attached to certain stories of certain ethos. In other words, the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, as the main repertories of the show, is symbolically invested with the values that the show promoted.

b. *MBC Kayo Concert* (MBC Popular Song Concert)

Unlike *Kayo-Mudae*, *MBC Kayo Concert*, a one-hour TV concert, is programmed for the middle-aged adults. The major repertories of the concert are contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, and the majority of the singers are new faces. The following are the objectives of the program posted on the web (www.imbc.com/tv/ent/produce.html).

> *Taehanmin'guk kungminiramyŏn nuguna jŭlgilsu innŭn*
> *Yuk'waehan Live Concert!*
> *Talk Concert! 100% Live! T'ŭrot'ŭ Kasu!*
>
> Joyful Live Concert that every South Korean citizen can enjoy!
> Talk concert! 100% Live! *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Singer!

Example 13. The stated objectives of *MBC Kayo Concert*

In the statement of the objectives, there can be four words to be examined, which are *nuguna* (everyone), *yuk'waehan* (joyful), *talk concert* (talk concert), and *100% live*. First of all, the producer of the concert insists that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* should be the authentic Korean popular music, stating that every South Korean citizen can enjoy (*Taehanmin'guk kungminiramyŏn nuguna*) the show. Second, the

concert defines *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a joyful song style, saying that the concert is a joyful (*yuk'waehan*) show. Third, the concert is a talk show, even though the talk is not the main mission of the show. In the concert, the host, a middle-aged actor, sang and talked with the singers between the performances.[67] The talks were mostly about life, weather, love, and everyday life. Lastly, the concert was designed as a live show, unlike other TV concerts for the youngsters, expressing the sincerity of the show. In sum, the concert is projected as a sincere live show, defining *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as the authentic and joyful Korean popular music.

I attended the concert on March 10, 2003. Even though its airing time is at 11:00 AM every Friday, the concert was held in the afternoon at 3:00 on Monday. Picture 19 and 20 are the waiting line and the stage of the concert, respectively. Admission was free and on a first come basis. The line to get in was formed more than one hour before the start of the show, and most of those waiting were middle-aged housewives, middle-aged self-employed men, and the elders.

Once the audience was seated, there was a short and casual song contest intended to set the proper mood. Then, the host showed up with the spotlight, singing and walking slowly down the stairs. He wore a white suit matched with a white hat. After finishing his singing, the host bowed deeply to the audience, complimenting the audience's attendance to his humble concert. All the singers of the concert also practiced the polite bodily performances such as bowing and

[67] Recently, the host was replaced by a professional talk-show host.

wearing formal suits or long evening dresses. Thus, the concert was a commemorative ritual place, in which the traditional values and relationships were perfectly kept.

Picture 19. The Waiting Line of *MBC Kayo Concert*

Picture 20. The Stage of *MBC Kayo Concert*

c. *Kayoshow* (Popular Song Show)

Kayoshow is a one-hour TV concert, aired through SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) at 11:00 AM every Saturday. It is a relatively new show for the middle-aged adults, as seen in the following statement of the advertisement of the show on the web (wizard.sbs.co.kr/template/wzdtv/wzdtv_FormProgramIntro.jhtml?pr…).

Usŭmgwa Kamdong, kŭrigo Insaengi ŏurŏjin Sŏngindŭlmanŭi Concert!
100% Stressrŭl Nallyŏjunŭn Sinnanŭn Concert!
Kijon Sŏngin Kayoshowŭi Kojŏngdoen t'ŭlesŏ pŏsŏnan Sinanŭn Noraewa Saengsaenghan Panju,
Kŭrigo chaemiinnŭn kkongt'ŭwa Kamdongjŏgin Talkŭi Saeroun Mannamŭl Sidohan SBS Kayoshownŭn
Chumal Ach'im Chungjangnyŏnchŭng Sich'ŏngjadŭlege Saeroun Hwallyŏksoro Tagagalgŏsimnida.

A show full of joy, emotions, and life… A concert only for the adults!
A joyful concert that will blow your stress away 100%!
Joyful songs and lively accompaniments different from conventional shows for the adults…
This show will attract the middle-aged audience of the weekend morning as an energizer.

Example 14. The Stated objectives of *Kayoshow*

The statement of the objectives indicates that the show is projected to be a concert for the adults (*Sŏngin, Chungjangnyŏnch'ŭng*), which expresses joy (*usŭm*), emotion (*kamdong*), and life (*insaeng*). In other words, the particular

music of the concert, as an adult culture, supposedly links to such esthetics as joy, emotion, and life. Additionally, the hosts, a middle-aged male announcer and a middle-aged female singer,[68] lead comfortable talks with the audience, in order to build the aura filled with the esthetics of the adults. Thus, the talks are mostly about spousal relationships, family matters, and nostalgic memories of the past. The following is the projected repertories of the concert, posted on the same web (ibid.).

> *Ŏnje dŭrŏdo chŏnggyŏpko p'ugŭnhan t'ŭrot'ŭge stardŭrŭi hŭnggyoun norae hanmadang*
> *Hyŏnje manŭn in'girŭl nurimyŏ hwalbalhage hwaltonghago innŭn sinsedae kasudŭri purŭnŭn ch'uŏkŭi noraedŭl*
> *70-80 nyŏndae ch'uŏkŭi kasurŭl ch'odaehaesŏ kŭttae kŭsijŏlŭi episodŭwa ch'uŏkŭi noraedŭrŭl dŭrŏbonŭn special mudae…*
>
> A cheerful music stage of the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* stars that's always friendly and warm
> Old songs are performed by a new generation of young singers
> A special stage where singers of the 70's and 80's perform songs and talk…

Example 15. The Projected Repertories of *Kayoshow*

In this statement, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is defined as a joyful (*hŭnggyŏun*) adult song style that contains compassionate (*chŏnggyŏpko*) and warm (*p'ugŭnhan*) emotions, that can soothe stressful city lives in South Korea. However, the concert is not limited to the particular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, but includes all kinds of popular songs of the

[68] The female host was recently replaced by an early middle-aged actress.

1970s and 80s. Since the concert targets middle-aged adults who were in their teens in the 1970s and 80s, its repertories surely include songs connected to the nostalgic memories of those times. Like the *MBC Kayo Concert*, the *SBS Kayoshow* is programmed for middle-aged adults, and provides nostalgic feelings of the past. In doing so, those concerts incorporate compassionate talks and performances of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and other songs of the old times.

d. *Sŏngin Kayo Best 30* (Best 30 Adult Popular Songs)

Sŏngin Kayo Best 30 (Best 30 Adult Popular Songs) is quite different from the other TV concerts analyzed above for a number of reasons. Firstly, its repertories are selected strictly on the basis of the top-thirty chart of contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. The finale of the concert is made up of an awarding ceremony followed by an encore performance of the winner of the week. Second, the concert is a local event, aired through a local independent commercial station, *Kyung-in Broadcasting Limited (iTV).* The program cannot be legally aired in other regions, including Seoul. Third, since its repertories are strictly composed of contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs, the concert is legitimately the only TV program specializing in contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

However, the bodily performance of the concert was not different from the other shows programmed for *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. Even though the concert may be assumed to be a competing place for the singers, most participants treat each other like brothers or sisters. At one episode, the host/singer said that the winner was like his

brother, because they went through hard lives together. Then, the host went on to say that the winner deserved the award particularly because of his nice personality. In other words, being a good *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer should be related to being a good person, because only a good and matured person can perfectly express the essences of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which are life, love, sincerity, and human integrity.

e. Others

Yŏllin Ŭmakhoe (Open Concert)

Yŏllin Ŭmakhoe (Open Concert) is one of the concert-style TV shows that contain *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a part of its repertories. The one-hour open concert has been on the air for more than ten years, at primetime (6 PM) every Sunday through KBS. The repertories of the concert consist of all kinds of music, including opera arias, musical songs, American pop songs, traditional Korean folksongs, and Korean popular songs, even though it is mostly programmed for popular songs.

The projected objective of the show is to make a high-quality performing culture, and a family-oriented concert to be enjoyed by any member of a family (*sujunnop'ŭn kogŭp kongnyŏn munhwa, on'gajoki hamkke halsu innŭn kŏnjŏnhan kajok ŭmahoe*) (www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/enter/openconcert/index.html). As a prestigious event in South Korea, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, was invited to the concert, which included his brother's band performing in the concert. Mostly, each concert is designed with a specific theme, such as family, charity, nationalism, brotherhood, and neighborhood. Reflecting on those

practices, one of the main repertories, *t'ŭrot'ŭ,* can be regarded as a suitable song style for a family, on the one hand, and Korean social values, on the other hand.

2. Local Live Stages

There are many different types of local commercial venues of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* like café, night-club, and karaoke. However, what follows focuses on local events in which *t'ŭrot'ŭ* functions as a social cement consolidating the traditional Korean norm. In dong so, emphases are placed on 1) the performing practices involved in the traditional values of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, 2) the characteristics of the audiences, and, 3) the interrelationships between the performances and the entire events.

a. *Yangrowon* (An asylum for the aged)

I followed a group of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers to their charity performance at a *yangrowon* (an asylum for the aged) on February 6th, 2003. The place, called *hŭimangŭi maŭl yangrowon* (a hopeful village, an asylum for the elders), was located in the suburbs outside of Seoul. It was a private asylum for particularly sick or abandoned elders. When the music group and I arrived, the manager came outside and welcomed us, even though the group consisted of a small number of barely known singers. According to the manager, the event, titled "recreation time," was held every Thursday, whatever the performance may be. On the same day, there were two different music groups, traditional Korean folksong performers and *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers.

The event was held on the roof of the asylum, which was, however, covered with glass. The performers sang upon an old karaoke machine. The performance equipment was very poorly maintained to the extent that some of the singers had a hard time figuring out their keys. However, the emotional bond between the audience and the singers was much stronger than any well-equipped live concert. The singers performed, walking around the audience, holding the hands of the elders, and hugging them. The following is a transcription of a young female *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer's performance.

> Singer: Mom, you look good today. How are you today? Dad, I am sorry I could not come last week. I am a bad daughter! Forgive me! [She sings an old-time *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song.]
> Singer: Are you going to really forgive me? I am deeply sorry. [She hugs an old lady in the audience.]

The female singer treated the audience like her parents, calling them mom and dad. She clapped her hands during the whole event, dancing with the audience. Most of the performers, particularly female singers, wore traditional Korean costumes, expressing respect for the elders. Thus, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers performed *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in a particular way, through which traditional values could be encoded, wearing traditional Korean costumes and using honorific words.

b. Local Festivals

Chongmyo Kyŏngrojanch'i

Chongmyo is known as a place for the elders in Seoul. As a public park in the middle of Seoul, it is convenient for the elders of Seoul to spend their pastime. There a charity concert titled *kyŏngrojanch'i* (a feast for the aged) for the elders is held on every Saturday. I attended the concert on February 15th, 2003. The performers were mostly *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers, and performed old-time *t'ŭrot'ŭ* hits and/or their own contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. Unlike the event in the private asylum of the sick elders, the performers were more active to promote their new albums, considering the audience as potential customers. For sure, the audience was also very responsive to the extent that they came to the front and danced to the music. The rest of the audience clapped along with the music during the entire concert.

Meanwhile, the bodily performance of the charity concert was very similar to that of the event in the asylum. The female performers wore either formal two-piece dresses or the traditional Korean costumes, while male performers wore formal suits, expressing respect for the elders. According to a male singer whom I interviewed, wearing gaudy costumes implies respect to the audience. He went on to say that wearing T-shirts or jeans on the stage might insult the dignity of the audience, presupposing that the audience was composed of elders. The performers even called the members of the audience "mother" and "father." In short,

consecrating the performance of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a practice of the traditional values, such as respect to the elders and filial duties, the singers bodily performed the traditional Korean social practices like wearing formal costumes, bowing deeply to the audience, calling them "father" or "mother."

Ssirŭm Taehoe

Ssirŭm Taehoe is the traditional Korean wrestling competition that has been held on the traditional holidays like the Chinese New Year's Day (*kujŏng*) and the Korean Thanksgiving Day (*ch'usŏk*). In general, the wrestling competitions are held in rural areas, even though they are aired through national television stations. Taking place in the rural area helps to create nostalgic feelings of the past, which ultimately echoes the tradition.

Additionally, in order to maximize the traditionalization of the event, there is a ceremony before the competition. The ceremony features the performance of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs and traditional Korean folksongs, because these song styles represent the traditionalization of the event. As noted by Timothy Rice, musical experience consists of the temporal, spatial, and conceptual arc of one musical practice (2003:152). In other words, a particular musical experience of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* can be formulated by three-dimensional forces, 1) its performance in a particular place—*Ssirŭm*, 2) on a particular time—traditional Korean holiday, and, 3) with a particular symbolic value—traditional values. Thus, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* acquires symbolic value as a traditional popular song style, by incorporating the temporal, spatial,

and conceptual experiences.

Conclusion

T'ŭrot'ŭ has recently been constructed as the traditional Korean popular song style, named *chŏnt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song) in South Korea. Considering a number of sensitive debates regarding its nationality throughout history, the ironic conceptual transformation of the song style demands close examination. In chapter six, I examined how the particular song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was transformed to be the traditional Korean popular song style. In so doing, I focused on the performance practices on different public stages and on the public discourses engaged.

The first half of the chapter examines how *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and its images, as the traditional culture, are re/produced, focusing on festivals, song contest, and fan clubs. First of all, commemorating the late famous musicians of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, the festivals create the traditional values of the song style itself. More importantly, the festivals are constructed as bodily performances conveying traditional Korean values, such as wearing traditional Korean costumes or formal suits, bowing slowly and deeply to the audience, or awarding well-behaved musicians. Second, amateur local song contests are the arena in which *t'ŭrot'ŭ* becomes the authentic Korean song style of the ordinary Korean adults. The participants and the audience prioritize the togetherness of sharing emotions over the competition.

T'ŭrot'ŭ, as the main repertory of the contests, functions as the social bond through which the so-called ordinary South Korean adults could construct their identities. Last, the Internet websites are places for re/producing *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and the images of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. The agents, whether they are singers or fans, interactively construct the images of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a traditional Korean song style through the Internet. Ironically, highly advanced technology that could atomize human society was incorporated to traditionalize the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Meanwhile, the second half of the chapter focuses on the performance practices of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on different stages—i.e. television concerts and local events. The analysis of the stage performance includes not only the performance practices, but also the public discourses involved in programming the locales. For instance, each concert-type television show has its own Internet homepage, serving as the communicative site in which the interactions between the producers and the listeners take place. In other words, the discourses on the Internet could describe how the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was conceptually produced and received through the particular program. In sum, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been conceptually traditionalized through many different venues, dialectically interacting with public discourses, bodily performances, and the musical performances themselves.

Conclusion

T'ŭrot'ŭ is a Korean sentimental ballad performed with lots of vocal inflections and breaking sounds (*kkŏgnŭn sori*), either in slow or fast tempo. Even though it occupies less than 5 % of the South Korean music market in terms of record sales, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is still well accepted mostly among adult Koreans. According to a survey by a South Korean TV show, *kayoshow,* aired through SBS on April 19, 2003, 64 out of 100 all-time favorite popular songs consisted of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs. Considering the main viewers of the program, the survey has been conducted with adults in their late thirties and over. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* is in this light considered as a Korean adult music style, often called *sŏngin kayo* (adult popular song).

In addition, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has recently been renamed as *chŏt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song) in popular discourse. Alongside this conceptual change, the performance practices of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* enhance traditionalization, conforming to traditional Korean social values such as *hyo* (filial duties), *innasim* (perseverance), *chinjiham* (sincerity), and so forth. For instance, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers embody the traditional Korean norms: they wear formal suits and/or traditional Korean costumes expressing respect to the audience; they bow deeply and gently to the audience; as good Koreans, they also express sincerity and integrity in their respective personal lives. Thus, today's *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is a musical culture in which traditional Korean norms and values are expressed, while *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singers are

symbolically invested with the image of true Koreans.

The concept of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* has been laid out both in academic writings and in popular discourse throughout history in a complicated way. In order to comprehend the multi-layered definition and terminology of the song style, I examined the oral history by which people remembered the past related to the musical culture, and cross-checked it with the sociopolitical and historical dynamics involved. For instance, a middle-aged taxi driver, a middle-aged *t'ŭrot'ŭ* singer, and a traditional Korean music scholar in his fifties defined the song style with different names for different reasons. Until it became localized and traditionalized in the late 1980s, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* had been controversial in terms of its nationality despite its immense popularity. Therefore, different cohorts—in terms of age, class, and political agenda—remembered the musical culture differently, reflecting on their musical and social experiences within particular historical contexts. Focusing on the process by which the music and its symbolic values changed, I divided the history of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* into four phases: formation, maturation, localization, and traditionalization, as seen in table 7. In what follows, I intend to summarize the political history of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, answering two fundamental questions: what did *t'ŭrot'ŭ* mean to South Koreans?; how did *t'ŭrot'ŭ* survive?

Years	Terminology	Phase	Musical and Lyrical Characteristics	Socio-Political and Historical Context
1920s ~ 1940s	*Yuhaengga*	Formation	Duple meter, Slow tempo, Pentatonic melody (ra-ti-do-mi-fa), Nasal voice (particularly female singers), Heavy vocal inflection, Sentimental and sorrowful lyric, etc.	Japanese Colony
1950s ~ early 1980s	*Ppongtchak, T'ŭrot'ŭ*	Maturation	Duple meter, Slow tempo, Minor-scale melody, Heavy vocal inflection, Sentimental and Nostalgic lyric, etc.	Korean War (1950-53), Military Dictatorships
Mid 1980s ~ 1990s	*Ppongtchak, T'ŭrot'ŭ, Chŏnt'ong Kayo*	Localization	Duple meter, Faster tempo, Major-scale or Minor-scale melody, Heavy vocal inflection, Light-hearted lyric, etc.	Cassette technology
		Local Style of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*: *T'ŭrot'ŭ* Medley	Seamless rendition of different songs upon the same rhythmic accompaniment, double-tracked vocal with echo effects, typical vocalization of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*	Formulating local marketplaces
1990s ~ 2000s	*Ppongtchak, T'ŭrot'ŭ, Chŏnt'ong Kayo, Sŏngin Kayo*	Traditionalization	Two-beat oriented, yet various rhythms, fast tempo, Major-scale melody, Light vocal inflection, Light-hearted and playful lyric, etc.	Globalization

Table 7. The History of *T'ŭrot'ŭ*

What did t'ŭrot'ŭ mean to South Koreans?

T'ŭrot'ŭ was formulated in the 1920s when Korea was a Japanese colony. Since it was the first and the only modern popular song style, it was called *yuhaengga* (music in fashion), a general term referring to all kinds of popular songs. Even though the song style was well accepted particularly by urban bourgeois during the period of modernization, the early elite nationalists considered it a cultural threat. Since the nationalists during the Japanese colony intended to canonize traditional Korean music as a high modern Korean culture, they worried about the impact of the modern popular music and favored the resurrection of traditional Korean music (Robinson 1998:372).

The early elite nationalists' standpoint strongly influenced the postcolonial debate over the nationality of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in 1984. The debate was initiated by traditional Korean musician and scholar Hwang Byung-Ki; musicologist Suh Woo-Suk and popular music critic Kim Chi-P'yŏng responded in the newspaper. Basically, they argued about the origin of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, analyzing its essential musical elements and comparing them with either Japanese musical traditions or Korean musical idioms. Hwang asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a cultural remnant of the Japanese colony, while Suh and Kim insisted on its Korean origin. Both perspectives, as essentialists, focused on the nationality of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* on the basis of its scale and rhythm.

In fact, the postcolonial argument has relentlessly been the main issue of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* since the governmental censorship took place in the 1960s. As pointed out by Suh, there were political issues underlying the debate of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, which traced back to the censorship of the 1960s. During the dictatorship in the 1960s and 70s, the South Korean authority dealt with *t'ŭrot'ŭ* as a cultural vestige of the Japanese colony that should be cleaned out. For instance, the empress of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* Lee Mi-Ja's hit song, "Tongbaek Agassi (Cameliia Lady)," was banned by the South Korean government in 1965 because of its alleged Japanese musical characteristics in the vocal inflections and the melodic lines. Since the separation in the late 1940s, both the South and North Korean regimes disconnected their diplomatic relations with Japan and utilized the postcolonial sensibilities to solidify their regimes in the name of national security. Additionally, Koreans' defensive nationalism constructed as a response to an external threat helped formulate the cultural imperialist viewpoint of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. In short, the censorship against *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the 1960s and the 70s and the essentialist debate in 1984 were results of the political dynamics of the Cold War period. The cultural imperialist viewpoints of the intellectuals, in the end, constructed the main body of the academic writings of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Meanwhile, recent academic writings tend to shift the main interest to the transformation process of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*, by which Koreans interpret foreign musical culture and articulate their local identity. The works were mostly conducted by

scholars in the department of Korean literature such as Gang Deung-Hak and Park Ae-Kyung. Emphasizing social and cultural transformation in the late nineteenth century, scholars asserted that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was a local synthesis of Korean musical and literary tradition and the Western musical culture. In this dissertation, I valued this evolutionist viewpoint, and analyzed how local people create, consume, listen to, maintain, represent, and think about it.

How did t'ŭrot'ŭ survive?

As American-style popular music such as rock, country, and blues became popular due to *mi-8-gun kasu* (Korean singers who performed for the American 8th brigade) in the 1960s, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* and *ppongtchak* were coined as new names, differentiating the genre from other popular song styles. Since *ppongtchak* was regarded as a derogatory term, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was eventually fixed as the most popular name of the song style in spite of its foreign origin. In the meantime, realizing the political vulnerability of the song style, many popular musicians and music critics intended to rename it as *sŏjŏng kayo* (lyrical popular song) and/or *chŏnt'ong kayo* (traditional popular song). Ultimately, *chŏnt'ong kayo* became an alternative term of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the public domain.

While *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was standardized as the most dominant popular song style of South Korea in the 1960s and the 70s, it has been changed musically and symbolically. Firstly, due to its politically charged censorship in the 1960s,

t'ŭrot'ŭ composers began to sanitize the songs by removing any alleged Japanese aspects such as pentatonic melodies and duple meter, using diatonic melodies and various meters—e.g., quadruple meter and eight-beat rock rhythm. Ironically, Koreans constructed their Korean identity by westernizing and/or Americanizing *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Then, the easy-listening pop ballad began to dominate the South Korean music scene in the 1980s, as was the case in many different developing countries during the same period. Subsequently, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* lost its dominance, and its existence was threatened. However, the huge success of a female singer, Choo Hyun-Mi, in the late 1980s took *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to another level, changing its musical characteristics. Her music was a locally invented musical production, the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette. The cheap commodity (approx. $1.50) was consumed mostly by working-class adults through local marketplaces such as *sijangs* (marketplaces), *changt'ŏs* (traditional marketplaces), highway rest areas, and street wagon-markets.

One of the most important consequences of Choo's success was the musical and symbolic change of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* became a joyful, playful, and light-hearted love song in a relatively fast tempo, unlike the previous sorrowful ballad in a slow tempo. In addition, alongside the working-class culture *kwan'gwang bus ch'um* (dancing in a tour-bus), this fast-tempo, danceable, and light-hearted love song has been a part of the Korean working-class culture since the late 1980s. Thus, local people constructed their local identity—South Korean working-class

adults—by creating a new sound, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley cassette, which eventually changed musical and aesthetic characteristics of *t'ŭrot'ŭ*.

Given the grass-roots popularity of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley, it was not surprising that Sony offered a three-year contract to a local *t'ŭrot'ŭ* medley singer, Epaksa, in 1995. Epaksa, who used to be a tour guide/singer of *kwan'gwang bus*, gained enormous popularity in Japan to the extent that he received *sinin sang* (new singer of the year award). Due to his success in Japan, Epaksa and his supposedly working-class music was well accepted even by college students in South Korea since 2000. In other words, a locally invented sound crossed over and was successful in the mainstream popular music scene.

Returning to the holistic scene of South Korean popular music of today, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* lost its prominence in terms of record sales. During my fieldwork in 2002-2003, it was hard to find a contemporary *t'ŭrot'ŭ* record in a store. Obviously, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was struggling for its survival. However, I also found out that *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was the most definable South Korean song style, called *sŏngin kayo* and/or *chŏnt'ong kayo*. Valuing its symbolic meanings, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* embodies traditional Korean social values and national identity both musically and symbolically. In sum, throughout history, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* was formulated, matured, localized, and traditionalized as a South Korean popular song style, interacting with a particular socio-political and economic context. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* has thus been a cultural battlefield in which Koreans struggled to construct and articulate their

identity.

In conclusion, this research of the song style *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in relation to socio-political and economic dynamics of South Korean modern history elucidates the negotiating process between popular music production and different dimensional politics—e.g., national cultural policies, postcolonial international relationships, revolutionary technical developments, and globalizing capitals. The present work, as an integration of indigenous essentialist analyses and Western anthropological interpretations, contributes to paving the way for an intensive collaboration of different, yet entwined approaches to a complicatedly layered social truth of a musical culture.

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